

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A Journal

*Devoted to the Development of Character through the Family,
the Church, the School and Other Community Agencies*



INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The Challenge of Unemployment Relief.....	<i>Harry F. Ward</i>
Unemployment Challenges Religion.....	<i>Edmund B. Chaffee</i>
The Church and Organized Labor.....	<i>Cameron Parker Hall</i>
Are We Caught?.....	<i>Charles C. Webber</i>
The Church's Responsibility for Unemployment.....	<i>J. E. McAfee</i>
Industrial Relations and Character.....	<i>James Myers</i>
An Experiment in Industrial Democracy.....	<i>William P. Hapgood</i>
Psychiatry's Contribution to Human Welfare.....	<i>Esther L. Richards</i>
Economic Factors in the Problem of Unemployment.....	<i>A. H. Williams</i>
Investment without Representation.....	<i>Corwin D. Edwards</i>

OTHER ARTICLES BY

*George W. Coleman—W. C. Bower and
Earle E. Emme*

NEWS NOTES*

EDITORIALS

BOOK REVIEWS

VOLUME XXVI

MARCH, 1931

NUMBER 3 -

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A Journal Devoted to the Development of Character through the Family, the Church, the School and Other Community Agencies

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION is issued on the tenth of each month, except July and August. It seeks to present on an adequate, scientific plane, those factors which make for improvement in religious and moral education. The journal does not defend particular points of view, contributors alone being responsible for opinions expressed in their articles. It affords an open forum with entire freedom and without official endorsement of any sort.

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION publishes this journal, maintains an exhibit library and bureaus of information, conducts annual conventions, directs research, and serves as a clearing house for information in the field. The subscription price for the journal is \$5.00 a year. Separate copies are sold at 60 cents. Membership in the Association is free to those who request it.

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Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of The Religious Education Association

Central Congregational Church, Atlanta, April 15-17, 1931

Convention Theme: RELIGIOUS ISSUES IN OUR ECONOMIC CRISIS

Through the years the Religious Education Association has used its annual conventions to focus attention upon the deeper issues affecting the moral and spiritual development of citizenship. The problem for this year is challenging not only to the agencies whose chief task is the conservation and development of character—the home, the church, the school—but to every agency in our social order. The fact is being driven home in a thousand ways that our present civilization is faced with the necessity of reorienting itself in its philosophy of living and that the spiritualizing of our industrial order is basic to all the rest of life. The program committee has decided to use this convention to study "Religious Issues in Our Economic Crisis" and to see what steps can be devised to help in achieving adjustments worthy of real citizens of the commonwealth of man.

The 1931 Convention is being set up by representatives of organized religion, organized education and organizations related to industry. More than fifty leaders from these agencies have participated in planning the program. They believe that a frank facing of the issues involved in our economic philosophy by representatives of all groups—Jewish, Catholic, Protestant churches, universities, colleges, schools, Christian associations, social service and business institutions, including liberal and conservatives from each—is the most practical way to make a sane advance in this most crucial problem.

The essential thing needed is a frank and persistent search for and analysis of the facts regarding the workings of our present economic philosophy to see in how far these facts make or break us as human beings.

Many people are uneasy and alarmed at the seeming lack of spirituality in our economic order. Many, too, feel that the church and educational institutions should keep their hands off. Business institutions seem lost, bewildered. Where and how shall we come out? Can we, by a scientific facing of the facts, come to a more spiritual vision of our responsibilities? The committee and the leaders who have accepted responsibility for leading in the discussions believe we can.

The character aspects of economic processes are the real heart of spirituality in our present day. Can we develop controls that will enable man to use industry as the chief channel of spiritual living? What can churches, universities, colleges, social agencies, leaders in business, contribute? Can we help these agencies to be of real moment? We propose to try.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 15, 2:00-5:30

Meeting of All Interested in the Practical Approach of the Church in Education

Chairman, Philip C. Jones, The Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.

- (a) Discussion on what is being done by churches in regard to the Convention problem.
- (b) **Houses of Worship and Their Function in Religious Education,** David Marx, Rabbi, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta. Following the address, Rabbi Marx will conduct the group through the new temple of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 15, 7:30

Chairman, W. C. Bower, Divinity School, University of Chicago

First General Session

Religion in the Economic Process. Addresses by Samuel H. Goldenson, Rabbi, Congregation Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh; Michael Kenny, S. J., Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Ala.; Harry Ward, Professor of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary.

THURSDAY MORNING, APRIL 16, 9:30 to 12:00

Sectional Meetings

Special Sections have been arranged for the following groups:

- (1) **Business Group.** Chairman, P. H. Callahan, Manufacturer, and Secretary, Association of Catholics Favoring Prohibition.
- (2) **Lay Church Organizations Group.** Chairman, Stewart G. Cole, Professor, Dept. of Religious Education, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.
- (3) **Organized Church Group.** Chairman, F. Ernest Johnson, Research Secretary, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.
- (4) **Educational Institutions Group.** Chairman, Earle E. Eubank, Chairman, Dept. of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

Each one of these groups will have a committee of seven to nine persons working with it.

The following questions are pertinent with respect to each of the discussion groups:

- (a) What is the evidence that the institution involved understands the spiritual implications of the economic crisis?
- (b) Is the existing program at grips with the issue?
- (c) What needs to be done to make the institution function spiritually in the issue?
- (d) Under existing conditions, both in regard to the issue and in regard to the institution involved, what possible immediate steps are advisable?

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 16, 2:00

Sectional Meetings continued.

THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 16, 7:30

Chairman, Will W. Alexander, Director, Commission on Interracial Co-operation, Atlanta.

Second General Session

Analyses of Concrete Economic and Industrial Situations. Addresses by John E. Edgerton, President, The National Association of Manufacturers; P. H. Callahan, President, Louisville Varnish Company; C. D. Barr, Vice-President, American Cast Iron Pipe Company.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 17, 9:30

Chairman, Ralph E. Wager, Professor of Education, Emory University.

Third General Session

The Philosophy of Protestantism in Its Relation to Industry, Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Sociology, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The Philosophy of Judaism in Its Relation to Industry, Edward L. Israel, Rabbi, Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore.

The Philosophy of Catholicism in Its Relation to Industry, R. A. McGowan, Assistant Director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

Discussion

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 17, 2:00

Annual Business Meeting of the Religious Education Association.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 17, 3:00

Sectional Meetings continued

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 17, 7:30

Chairman, J. M. Artman, General Secretary, The Religious Education Association.

Fourth General Session

Reports by Chairmen of Discussion Groups.

Our Challenge. Addresses by Louis L. Mann, Rabbi, Chicago Sinai Congregation; Mordecai W. Johnson, President, Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Arthur E. Holt, Professor of Social Ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary.

In addition to the persons listed above, the following have already indicated their acceptance of a place on the program:

W. Y. Bell, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta; William Clayton Bower, Divinity School, University of Chicago; J. H. Carpenter, Brooklyn Federation of Churches, Inc.; Adelaide T. Case, Teachers College, Columbia University; E. J. Chave, Divinity School, University of Chicago; W. S. Christopher, Hillsboro Presbyterian Church, Nashville; Stewart G. Cole, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; J. W. F. Davies, Director, Community House, Winnetka, Illinois; Sylvanus M. Duvall, Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville; D. F. Folger, Y. M. C. A. Graduate School, Nashville; W. A. Harper, President, Elon College, N. C.; Henry G. Hart, Vanderbilt Y. M. C. A., Nashville; Marion O. Hawthorne, Northwestern University; Paul H. Heisey, Wittenburg College, Springfield, Ohio; L. Hekhuis, University of Wichita, Kansas; Ivar Hellstrom, The Riverside Church, New York City; John Hope, Morehouse College, Atlanta; Emmett S. Johnson, Centenary Methodist Church, Chattanooga; Maud McKinnon, First Methodist Church, Charlotte, N. C.; Clara E. Powell, Chicago Theological Seminary; D. R. Price, Secretary, Sunday School Council, Birmingham; J. Q. Schisler, Sunday School Board M. E. Church, South, Nashville; James S. Seneker, Southern Methodist University, Dallas; Lawrence W. Schultz, Manchester College, North Manchester, Ind.; Raymond A. Smith, Centenary-West End Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.; F. W. Stewart, Denison University, Granville, Ohio; Karl R. Stoltz, Hartford School of Religious Education; Walter L. Stone, Y. M. C. A. Graduate School, Nashville; Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary, New York City; W. T. Watkins, Emory University, Georgia; F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston; C. J. Hilkey, Emory University, Ga.; L. T. Hites, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio; E. McNeill Poteat, Jr., Minister, Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh, N. C.; Florence M. Read, Spelman College, Atlanta.

Local Arrangements

Dr. Ralph E. Wager, Professor of Education, Emory University, is chairman of the Convention Committee for Atlanta. Among those associated with him on the committee are the following persons, who have endorsed the coming of the convention to Atlanta and who are doing everything possible to make it of more than ordinary value, not only to Atlanta but to the nation:

Lewis Binstock, Rabbi, Temple Sinai, New Orleans; Abram Brill, Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Zion, Shreveport, La.; L. L. Carpenter, Limestone College, S. C.; Rufus E. Clement, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.; John M. Cooper, Catholic University, Washington; Ernest R. Groves, University of N. C.; Jacob Kaplan, Rabbi, Temple Israel, Miami; J. H. Montgomery, Co-operative Education Association of Virginia; Morris Newfield, Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Birmingham; Bruce Payne, Peabody College, Nashville; Albert E. Russell, Duke University, Durham, N. C.; Jesse Steiner, Tulane University; Gardiner L. Tucker, Dept. of Religious Education, Province of Sewanee, Huma, La.; W. T. Weatherford, Y. M. C. A. Graduate School, Nashville; Kendall Weisiger, Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co., Atlanta.

Special committees have been appointed from universities, colleges, public schools, churches and business organizations, to give serious thought to the convention and to assist in the developing of the Convention program.

Registration

Registration may be made at the time of the Convention, or in advance by sending fee to the Convention Committee of the Religious Education Association, c/o Dr. R. E. Wager, Emory University, Georgia. Fee for registration is \$2.00 per person.

Transportation

Railways have granted reduced rates on the Round Trip Identification Plan, on the basis of fare and one-half for the round trip, with a minimum excursion fare of \$1.00. The tickets will be sold only to delegates and members of their families upon presentation of identification certificates to ticket agents at the time of purchase of tickets. A supply of identification certificates will be furnished each applicant by the Religious Education Association office or by Dr. Wager. The rate of fare and one-half is good from April 11 to 17, with final limit of April 23.

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News Notes and Editorial Comments

*The Hawaii Hochi on the Industrial Crisis**

HERE ARE bald economic truths told bluntly by a member of the employing class who has the vision to look into the future and the courage to tell his associates what he sees.

The only hopeful sign in all the muddle of our present confused industrial depression is the fact that here and there we find a few who can see the handwriting on the wall, and who recognize the fact that unless we change our system we are headed straight for a disaster more complete and perilous than any that has been predicted by wild-eyed fanatics or red revolutionists.

The human factor must be taken into consideration by industry, not only because of its function in production, but because the consumption of commodities depends upon the ability of the worker to purchase the products of industry. A human being is valuable for two reasons, because he makes things and because he consumes them.

In a period of industrial depression like the present hard times, there is stagnation because the quantity of goods produced is greater than the quantity con-

sumed, leaving a surplus that gluts the market and halts further production. Heretofore the industrialists have talked about "over-production." This is all apple-sauce! There cannot be over-production as long as any human being goes hungry or has his needs unsatisfied. And there are millions today in America who do not get enough to eat, who are poorly clothed, who have not proper housing facilities, who are denied many of the bare necessities of life and all of the comforts. It is deliberate mendacity to talk about over-production when such conditions exist!

No. The trouble is under consumption. People are unable to get the things they need because they have not been paid even a living wage, to say nothing of the "saving wage" of which Colonel Callahan speaks. They have not been guaranteed continuous employment or adequate maintenance in their old age.

These three things are fundamental and must be embodied in our industrial system if it expects to weather the coming storm: a saving wage, continuous employment and protection against poverty in old age and disability. They constitute the obligation of industry to society, and the obligation must be met in one way or another.

Industry cannot longer ignore the human factor!

*An editorial from *The Hawaii Hochi*, commenting on an address by Col. P. H. Callahan at the Southern Industrial Conference.

Should the Church Interfere?

IT IS THE BUSINESS of the church to give us spiritual sustainment and enlightenment, but not to do the political work or to issue pronouncements on the technical questions which that work involves.

Many men will and ought to get from their religion a sense of how high and worthy a vocation politics and social administration may be. To urge men to do such work and to give their very best to it is the church's business—to tell them how to do it if not. We may be confident that the defects in the system will only be cured by those who are inside the system. There is not the least likelihood of the church thinking out a program of any value for industry. It has not the technical, economic or political knowledge.

Some of the impatience which those in control of industry display at the criticism of outsiders is the impatience of people who know the real difficulties of their problems when they are given advice by outsiders who know very little about it. If industry is going to evolve a type of organization which both provides the necessary scope for initiative, enterprise, experiment and leadership on the one hand, and also a community in which all feel themselves members co-operating on equal terms, that can only be done by those concerned in industry working it out for themselves.—*A. D. Lindsay.*

America's Greatest Problem

SINCE THE BEGINNING of the great war in 1913, the world has undergone many changes, both social and financial. In America, experimentation, noble and otherwise, has been carried on to a degree that makes the rest of the world stand aghast. The range has seemingly been without limit. Political nostrums have been handed out most lib-

erally in an attempt to placate the discordant elements.

A year ago America was on the crest of a wave of unprecedented (so-called) prosperity. As a matter of fact, the "prosperity" turned out to be an orgy of speculation that was the greatest in history. But the inevitable has happened, and now every country on the face of the earth is all upset and hordes of people are suffering as a part of the payment that must be made for the folly and mistakes of American leadership.

The rising tide of discontent throughout the world makes it perfectly obvious that "times are out of joint." Something is wrong somewhere. In these United States there has been a complete departure from those fundamental and basic principles and the codes of ethics which guided the founders of the nation. Today we find an almost universal state of dissatisfaction with conditions as they are.

Many of these troubles have an economic basis. Possibly all of them are in one way or another related to or affected by the economic condition of the people; but somewhere, somehow, there is an underlying cause which brought about existing conditions, both social and economic. A long and careful study leads me to the belief that, like the ancient Hebrews, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." Certainly, in my opinion, one of two things is responsible. It is either "ignorance" or "ignore-ance" of natural laws which has brought the inevitable result of discord and misery.

My own inquiries and investigations lead me to believe that to a very great extent the American system of education is responsible. The American business man pays quite a bit of attention to and takes great interest in building so-called adequate housing facilities. It is usually with a feeling of pride that we point to the new grammar school, the junior high or the new high school, but nevertheless

it is woefully true that few if any of us know what is being taught within the walls of these magnificent buildings, or the whys and wherefores behind the teachings to which the children are subjected.

As business men and taxpayers, we content ourselves by providing fine houses, buses for transporting the children to and from the rural schools, and passing "Compulsory Education Laws," but we leave the real *problem* in education entirely alone.

Not long ago a group of Negroes in Baltimore were complaining bitterly because, as they put it, they were compelled to send their children to school, no matter how great the sacrifice might be, but that the education received by their children led to positions not open to Negroes. They said, in effect, that the business and civic leaders of the white population had entire control of the matter, and that, as a result of this arrangement, the Negro children, who were as raw material turned over to the school authorities "to be educated," came out of the schools "a finished product" equipped for service as bookkeepers, clerks and stenographers, which positions they were not allowed to fill.

In my opinion, these Negroes were justified and well within their rights in their demand that their children be given jobs in these subjects.

Surely, the parents and the taxpayers may expect the schools at least to develop a groundwork of "logic," "ethics," and "ideals" on which the children may build for the future. As a very learned minister recently put it: "Our people are becoming sadly in need of 'Reason,' 'Responsibility' and 'Reverence.'" I, for one, believe that the fault lies upon the doorsteps of our educational institutions.

Existing conditions give great emphasis to the fact that it is of vital importance to have a *scientific and continuous study*

of public education made—and made, too, in a properly equipped laboratory. Some way must be found to meet problems like those of the Baltimore Negroes. It becomes a sacred duty, first of all, to find out "What are the needs in Public Education?" Second, "How the teaching shall be carried on?" and, then, the colossal problem of providing and equipping the necessary human element, the teachers. It seems to me that if this country and this government are to carry on, this matter becomes the most important.—*George R. James.*

Triennial Conference of Church Workers in State Universities

THE TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE of Church Workers in State Universities at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, January 30 and February 1, 1931, revealed progress in the growth of the conference and in the student pastor movement as a whole. Representatives of different faiths and educational institutions from various states wrestled with problems of vital interest to all concerned with the place of religion in higher education. Many papers and discussions were presented by nationally known leaders. The conference manifested the growth of professional consciousness, as well as the recognition of the necessity for better methods of mutual helpfulness through more highly developed organization.

The speeches, valuable discussions and decisions of the entire conference are being put into book form. This will be especially valuable to those who were unable to attend the conference. Introductions for the volume were written by Drs. Shailer Mathews and Frederick J. Kelly of the University of Chicago. The editor, Dr. Milton C. Towner, of the University of Chicago, is taking advance subscriptions.

The Challenge of Unemployment Relief

HARRY F. WARD

Professor of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City

FROM THE PROVISIONS that are being made to relieve the widespread unemployment of this winter, there emerges a definite challenge to religious education concerning the validity of one of the basic values in our religion.

One of the measures that is being used by both the government and private employers is to stagger jobs, that is, to make a given number of jobs spread for half time over twice as many men as hold them for full time by laying these workers off for half the week and putting unemployed in their places. Thus the bread that goes on the tables of one set of hungry wage earners' families comes out of the homes of another set. Instead of relieving distress out of the surplus of those who live in luxury, this method does it by diminishing further the income of those who do not yet have sufficient to live upon a cultural level. It reverses the Christian teaching that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak and loads as much as it can of the cost of unemployment upon the backs of the weakest members of the community.

When this is done reluctantly by employers who are caught in a competitive situation which is forcing them to the wall, employers who have themselves reduced their income and living expenses to the minimum, it is tragic testimony of the futility of trying to organize civilization around the law of the jungle. When it is done by a government that has been busy giving back millions to the rich through tax reductions and by corpora-

tions that are still paying good dividends to stockholders and enormous salaries to executives, it is a staggering revelation of stupidity and greed, of callous love of comfort and disastrous incapacity to sense injustice. Yet a few days after the preacher who speaks to the largest audience in this country had told his hearers that the Christian ideal of personality and brotherhood demands the public provision or requirement of insurance against unemployment, an economist attached to one of the insurance companies told the delegates to the convention of the Insurance Federation of America that this was unnecessary because the same end could be gained by staggering employment.

A similar inequality in the distribution of the cost of unemployment relief appears in the figures of relief funds. In one of the largest cities, it appears that approximately one-eighth of the special fund raised to feed and provide jobs for those out of work has come from the wage earners. To make this possible many firms deducted one day's pay or 1 per cent of the annual wage. Others requested a contribution at this ratio in such a manner that the workers knew refusal meant that on the first occasion they would swell the unemployed list. In another city, one day's pay a month was thus collected. In addition, some of the contributions credited to corporations and to men of wealth came out of the pay envelope by cuts in wages, direct and indirect, and from money saved by laying off workers. One of the ironies of the

situation is the appeal of social workers to big contributors to relief funds to put men back upon the payroll. The much proclaimed policy of no wage cuts has gone the way of other gentlemen's agreements to such an extent that the conservative president of the American Federation of Labor has been compelled to protest, because the price he paid for such an understanding was an undertaking that his followers would ask for no increase. It is largely by indirection that this agreement has been violated, one of the more general methods being to discharge men and then rehire them at a lower rate. This, of course, is only another perfectly natural example of the beneficent working of the law of competition. In the wage market, the need of the worker to eat and the need of the capitalist to get labor at the most profitable price conspire together to the disadvantage of the wage earner.

Still another part of the cost of unemployment relief has been indirectly taken out of the lives of the wage earners by the method employed in some industrial communities this winter for raising and administering community chest funds. This happens wherever it has been decided to make no appeal and add nothing to the budget for meeting the emergency need of the unemployed and their families. With grimly unconscious irony this has been justified by the claim that recent losses in the stock market have made the well-to-do feel poor. Usually it has been discovered too late that there was plenty of money available in the community. The unwillingness of dominant financial and industrial interests, duly echoed by the time-serving, office-seeking politicians, to have unemployment emphasized has also played its part. But the unemployed must at least be fed in a nominally Christian community. So the substitute for a direct appeal for additional funds for this purpose has been

to cut the budgets of the character-building agencies, sometimes as much as 50 per cent. Thus the comfortable are saved from any troubling of their conscience or diminution of their comforts; but a certain number of the poor, eager for culture of body, mind and spirit, are denied access to its means. By the weakening of their lives and the deprivation of their children their hungry fellow-workers are fed. That this has been done unconsciously, with no perception of its consequences, is some evidence of the social astigmatism produced by the innate inequality of our present economic scheme, of the extent to which it has already destroyed the vision of equality once given by our religion and again by what was once proudly called American democracy.

But even within the present economic scheme, despite its replacement of the approximately equalitarian way of life, which was the early ideal of this country, by the stratified society of sharply differentiated income groups, there is in the large no justification for the cumulative inequalities in the distribution of the costs of relieving the current unemployment. The comparative financial position of the capitalists and the wage earners does not require or warrant any such division of the load. On the basis of the figures for eleven months, the financial calculators are estimating that to those who live in whole or in part by owning, 1930 will have given at least 6 per cent higher dividend and interest payments than did 1929. In round figures this will run close to a billion and a half dollars and that would go a long way in paying the relief bills of this winter. Instead, the society reporters write about the most brilliant social season on record at Washington and Palm Beach and tell us that the cost of coming-out parties now runs into scores of thousands. For the same period, the dividends of labor, that

is its wages, will show a drop of more than 11 per cent, amounting in round figures to somewhere near nine billion dollars. In the face of such figures, what honesty is there in praising or even in gratefully receiving that small fraction of the financial surplus of 1930 that has been given to pay only a part of the bills for unemployment? And what names must truly be given to the enforcement of contributions from wage earners for that purpose by economic pressure? In its charity, as in its production and distribution, our competitive profit-seeking economy reveals its exploiting nature. There, too, it reverses and defies the Christian principle that the strong should bear the burden of the weak and should help them to become strong.

The whole story, however, is not told by a broad comparison of gain in dividends and interest with loss in wages and jobs. The basic inequality narrows down to a sharper point. It runs through the world of capital and not simply between its domain and that of labor. The year just ended has been as hard for many business and professional people as it has been for that section of the wage earners where they have had to tighten the belt but have not, like the section below them, been left without food and shelter. The gain in dividends and interest has gone to a small portion of the owners and investors. Mostly it has been paid out of previously accumulated surplus, not out of current earnings. This surplus, amounting to about 40 per cent of our entire net corporation profits, is in effect an insurance fund for stockholders, provided in varying proportion by monopolistic control of both commodity and labor markets and by superior skill in management. The latter often means economy of operation secured by creating unemployment, without any responsibility for providing either unemployment insurance or relief. This situation leads Scott

Nearing to ask why owners and investors should not wait as long for dividends and interest as workers must wait for jobs.

It is this surplus—the spoils that a pecuniary society permits the most skilful moneymakers to take, the insurance of its comforts to the luxury level income group in times of depression—which the government has recently been increasing by its refunds and remissions of taxes in the upper income brackets. The fact that we have thus indirectly, and again directly through our rejection of unemployment legislation, declined to accept the principle that the financial surplus should provide the same insurance for the meager living of the wage earners that it does for the comforts of the rich is still more emphatic evidence of the way in which our present economic arrangements have bred inequality into our bones. It follows naturally, then, that our alleged business leaders, even those reputed the most intelligent and humane, should sound the praises of the American way of unemployment relief, which puts the finishing touch to our economic inequality by collecting a considerable part of its funds from families who have already suffered deprivation of living standards and cultural opportunities to make possible the surplus income that has gone to others. This, with bitterly blind irony, we call equalizing the burden throughout the community, when in truth the least we could do in that direction would be to lay the whole cost of unemployment relief—either in the appeal for contributions or in governmental decree—upon the financial surplus that has become the possession of a fraction of the population.

The same tacit, unseeing acceptance of basic inequality appears in the proposed legislation for unemployment insurance and in the support it secures. The experience of England shows that this becomes relief provided by taxation. Our American draft attempts to avoid that

outcome by laying the burden upon the management of industry, which of course will transfer most of it to the consumer. The purpose, however, is not to lessen inequality in the distribution of social costs and income, but to put a premium upon the lessening of unemployment and a penalty upon its increase, which the British system does not do. Despite this preventive fringe, however, any insurance scheme belongs in the category of relief, not in that of prevention. What it does is to assure relief in advance and thus lessen the preliminary suffering that now is endured by those who have to wait for voluntary efforts to get under way. This is a manifest gain, but our proposed scheme does not pay the unemployed a living wage. The maximum is ten dollars a week and that only for a limited time. But will the income of those in the upper brackets be reduced in that proportion in the next depression? Will they suffer at all compared with the families whose income is cut to a weekly pittance of ten dollars? Again, as in our present boasted plan of giving a dole to the rich and withholding it from the poor, the suffering is laid upon the backs of the weak.

The real meaning of this is concealed under the tacit assumption that our constant fringe of the unemployed, which will remain with us after the depression passes to the extent at present of two million workers, is a part of the price of progress. But even if technical changes were the social advance they are thus blandly assumed to be, by the ethic of what religion, by the values of what kind of social economy, can the loading of the heavier part of the cost upon the weakest members of the community be justified? A policy so suicidal for both religion and society can be tolerated only because both ideal values and practical realities have become obscured. When this happens in the case of really educated people of fine feeling, it is because of the

seductive power of traditional comforts and the resistance offered to our religious and educational ideals by the double line between the classes. Despite our desire for brotherhood, despite our professions of democracy, we are constantly limited in our vision and checked in our advance by that ghostly barrier on each side of which there is a different standard of living. It has two walls, resting on two adjoining lines, one drawn by the modern world between those who succeed in the competitive money-making struggle and those who do not, the other drawn by the ancient world between those who do the brain-work of the world and those who carry on its primary economic processes. The habits of mind and feeling that accept and justify these divisions and their consequences run all through our religion and our education. They are broken only with much continued effort.

The challenge to break them and to enter into a new and ethically sound type of religious fellowship comes now from the facts of the present situation. When understood, they give an additional imperative to the challenge of our religion to approach continually toward equality, both between persons and between groups engaged in varying social functions. When the changes that have recently caused unemployment are analyzed, how many of them have contributed to social advance? The talkies seem to have ended what chance the motion picture had of developing a significant art form. The high-speed small cars have increased the danger of our streets and highways. Would any rational society permit itself to be torn continually asunder by mere changes in style and pattern without measuring in advance their social utility? The unemployed who are created by such directionless changes are sacrificed to the spirit of money-making, not to the spirit of progress.

The extent to which this is being done

is covered up by that much used term "technological unemployment." This assumes improvements in the industrial process as the cause of our constant fringe of the unemployed. A recent vigorously ethical statement by denominational officials blunders into the statement that two million workers were last year displaced by new machines. A circular from a society that ought to know better, urging support for a federal law to compel unemployment insurance, rests its appeal on practically the same basis. Just what were the significant technological improvements of last year? As a matter of fact, a large proportion of those thrown out of work before the depression became acute were the victims of improvements in the financial not the industrial process. How many—from high-salaried executives to laborers—were displaced by mergers? How many were let out because of a temporary shutdown for repairs and then not rehired because they were a little too old for the pace and some bright executive had thought of this device to keep costs down and save or increase the income of the stockholders? How much thinking and planning is now going on, not to improve the actual process of production and distribution of goods and services, but to invent new devices for collecting income for absentee owners, many of whom have not performed even the function of providing capital? Increasingly, it is financial not technological unemployment that we have constantly with us. The sufferings of its victims are not the unequal and unjust part of the price of progress,—as if that could ever come through any human sacrifice that was not voluntary—they are part of the tribute of the weak to the successful in an economic system which has inequality as one of its central principles. They are part of the price of a class-limited luxury, the evidence and further cause of a decay which neither phil-

anthropy nor education, science nor religion can check until they address themselves to the basic situation of economic inequality and injustice.

If an understanding of current facts in relation to the standards of both religion and education should lead religious education in this direction, it will discover that it has a more redoubtable foe to deal with than an obscurantist theology. It will find out that most of the liberal economists who have seen the economic inefficiency of the more callous and inhuman tenets of that dull, dismal and brutish science—classical economics—still insist that inequality in the distribution of income is necessary for the provision of capital plant because only a few of the people can be taught to save for that purpose. The way the Russian people are tightening their belts to create a vast technical equipment that will belong to them and take no toll from their lives to support a luxury class in idleness or to provide a culture limited in its availability would seem to call for some revision of the orthodox doctrine concerning the creation of capital. But, of course, it is well understood here on the highest authority that the Russian effort is doomed to failure. Our almost universal prayer is for the return of prosperity, that is, a situation in which the successful make much and the others a little, with all the concomitant circumstances. But this inequality in the distribution of the results of common effort automatically sends a continuously larger proportion of income to the creation of capital plant than to the use of consumable goods. Here is the basic general cause of cyclical depressions and their increase of unemployment. There is not sufficient purchasing power in the masses of the population to consume the products of the capital plant created by the desire for investment returns no matter how much the products

may be needed by them, either on the score of social health or personal development. Thus the way our orthodox economists proclaim as the only sound way to create needed capital plant also creates the idleness of that plant and the unemployment of the workers. It is a self-defeating system. God is not mocked. Inequality and injustice are socially destructive.

Thus, in longing for prosperity, the people are longing for the continuance of the conditions that caused their present suffering. For temporary relief they will unknowingly welcome the return of the

subtle disease that unchecked will destroy modern society. In that event, what will be the responsibility of the religion and the education that failed to use the facts and the power of their own ideals to turn the people from the way of destruction? Is not the challenge of the present unemployment situation to religious education that it should help the nation to reject the false theory of inequality as the basis of economic efficiency and to move at once by the fastest possible steps toward more and more equality in the distribution of the capacities and rewards of modern living?



THE ONLY HOPE the devotees of the religion of money-making have to offer us for the easement of unemployment is the possible return of what they call prosperity. The only road they can show us to their economic paradise is through reduction of production and cutting of wages. The former policy, officially advocated and aided in relation to staple agricultural commodities, has recently been extended by financial agreement on a world scale to copper and sugar. Reduction of wages, carried out under our pressure to an inhuman degree in Germany and in process on an anti-social scale in England, is at last soberly announced here as a regrettable necessity. Thus passes the dream of the new capitalism of a well-fed contented people under the dominion of benevolent millionaires, cheerfully supporting their increasingly idle and luxurious heirs.—Harry F. Ward, "The Handwriting on the Wall," *The Christian Century*, March, 1931.

Unemployment Challenges Religion

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

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A FRIEND of mine tells a delightful story of a Maine farmer who, in the midst of an unusually severe winter, had to carry all the water for his stock. He vowed with many fierce oaths he would bury his water pipes so deep that no frost could ever touch them. The summer came and the boiling sun. When asked if he had fixed the pipes, he said, "Oh, no, we'll never have a winter like that again." There in a word is the greatest danger in this unemployment situation. When it is over we will forget about it and tell ourselves that it will never happen again. That is why it is so necessary to think about it now. That is why I am writing this article. Now is the only time we have to capture the interest of the public and of those who are in a position to influence that public. Human nature being what it is, we cannot expect much interest in this matter except in a time of crisis. What we do must be done now.

What are the facts about this present crisis? For months after the stock market break President Hoover and other officials of the government pretended that there was no crisis. This was a most unfortunate blunder. It lost us many precious months. The ostrich policy has made the situation worse than it might otherwise have been. But now the facts are out and available to all. They are not pleasant or encouraging. I have before me the report of the so-called Prosser Committee in New York, which is raising money to be used to give men

jobs in the parks. This committee estimates that there are more than 300,000 people out of work in this city. They point out that in September, 1929, one large relief agency gave relief to 4,695 persons. In September, 1930, this same relief agency helped 9,120 persons, or nearly double the number. They also point out that more people are being cared for at the municipal lodging houses than at any time since the institution was opened thirty-four years ago. From all our great industrial cities there comes the same heart-breaking story—thousands out of work, families starving, bread lines, soup kitchens and all the rest. Last June the Secretary of Commerce estimated the country's unemployment at 2,298,588. This seemed a gross underestimate, so we were not surprised when in August Charles E. Persons resigned from the Census Bureau, announcing: "I quit the service when I found that efforts were being made to reduce the number of unemployed to the number of jobless workers." Back of this remark was the fact that the census had counted only workers entirely without jobs, able to work and looking for work, but omitting those at present laid off but expecting re-employment. To put it mildly, that estimate of something over 2,000,000 out of work was somewhat under the real facts. Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, put the estimate last spring at 4,500,000. But the situation now is considerably worse than it was in the spring.

In fact, the well-known labor economist, William M. Leierson, makes the estimate now of 7,000,000. It is probable that this figure is, if anything, too low. The brutal fact is that we are in one of the most terrible winters the country has ever faced.

Such are the facts. What is their menace? The question may be trite, but it is tremendously important that it be answered. The menace in this situation is the undernourishment of men, women and children. Right here, on our playground at Labor Temple, we are finding that many of the children who come already show the effects of undernourishment. This undernourishment brings sickness which means more suffering and still more, weakening the citizenry of the nation. But, terrible as is this physical side, it is by no means all. Men out of work lose their capacity for work. The unemployed become unemployable. They become discouraged and despondent. Their morale is shattered. Day after day men come to me looking for work. Many of their stories are heart-breaking. They are willing to work; they are capable; but they can't find a job. What shall they do? Well, some of them are going to be tempted to get a living by crime. They figure that it is better to hold someone up than it is to starve. We are bound to see a big increase in crime in all our great cities. Still others will see but one way out—the way of suicide. Again and again I have heard men and women speak of that. Many times it is merely for effect, many times it is bluff, but sometimes it is serious, and you have only to read the papers to know that it is happening every day. This, too, is part of the menace we face. Another phase of the menace of unemployment is found in grafting employment agencies. Men "buy a job"; they pay five, eight, ten dollars, whatever it may be, if they can possibly raise the price. They find, as

did a man I tried to help just the other day, that the job lasted for only four days. He paid eight dollars to get the job and the job paid him four dollars for a paltry four days. Then I suppose some other poor fellow was sent and the story repeated. If any men deserve long prison sentences it is these swindlers who live upon the misery of the unemployed. The unemployed become a prey to the grafters and the exploiters of every kind.

Still another menace in the present situation is found in its effect upon the men and women who are still at work. Their wages tend to be cut. At the conference called by President Hoover some months ago, business men promised that they would not reduce wages. But within a few weeks of that promise it was possible for E. F. McGrady of the A. F. of L., whom no one will accuse of being radical, to point out that forty-nine industries had broken their agreement with the President. Just the other day, the Standard Statistics Company, one of the leading statistical agencies of the country, said: "Because of wage cuts and part time employment aggregate wages have declined from \$44,607,000,000 a year to \$35,754,000,000 a year, a loss of 20 per cent." In fact, wages seem to be declining throughout a large portion of the country. Unemployment is a menace not merely to the unemployed but also to the employed.

Unemployment is a physical and moral menace. It undermines health; it shatters morale; it leads to crime; it exposes the weak to the sharp practices of the grafters. It hits not only those out of work but tends to reduce the wages and bring down the living standards of those still employed. These are some of the evils which unemployment brings in its train.

There are, of course, hundreds of relief measures being tried. But far more important than a recital of the emergency

measures is the earnest consideration of plans to deal adequately with such another situation which may arise. We come right back to the Maine farmer and the frozen pipes. We had plenty of warning that this crisis would come sooner or later. We could have done much to prevent this sorry mess had we made our plans during the years of prosperity. The menace of the present situation is clear. The hope is found in the possibility that we may be aroused to make such a crisis impossible in the future. This deplorable state in which the country finds itself will be well worth all it is costing if it stimulates us to find a way out.

But to find a way out we in America must do more radical thinking than we have done heretofore. We must take note that this unemployment crisis which has come to us is not peculiar to us. It exists in just as large or even larger measure in England. It is acute in Germany. It is creeping now upon France and would have struck her sooner except that she has been able to ship her unemployed, who are mostly foreign, back to their native lands. It exists, in fact, in every industrial country, with the exception of Russia, which has not gone as far in the industrialization process as the other Western nations. In other words, unemployment is an evil which has come with increasing use of machinery. It was not a feature of agricultural societies. It is a feature of machine economy. Its fundamental cause is found in the marvelous efficiency of the machine. The making of bricks will serve to illustrate this extraordinary efficiency. Under the old hand process, a man in eight hours could make 450 bricks. With the brick-making machine, that man can turn out 40,000 bricks per hour. Thus it is inevitable that the need for bricks can be met more quickly and more easily than ever before. The production of bricks, and of everything else made by the ma-

chine, tends to exceed the demand. When that happens, the price falls and the producers stop making bricks. The men engaged in the industry are out of a job. This happens periodically in all industries; and when it does, we find ourselves in a crisis like the present. In all industrial countries there have come these periodic depressions.

However, I fear that the present depression is a little deeper than the previous depressions through which we have passed. I say this because two years ago and three years ago and even more, men were coming to us here at Labor Temple and to the various employment agencies scattered throughout the city looking for jobs. There was no depression in the usual sense, but these men had lost their jobs because new machines had been invented which dispensed with their services. The *New York Telegram* put the matter very clearly in an editorial a few weeks ago. After pointing out how industry had, during these last ten years, sucked men by the millions into the cities, it continued:

But this is still not the worst of it. As the new and fresh material has been sucked in, industry, like a prodigious efficiency expert, opportunity presenting, has put the fittest of the newcomers in the place of the less fit and aging, pushing the latter always further and further toward the periphery so that with each minor or major depression they dropped off. The inexorable process of eliminating and scrapping the less fit has at last, with the present final climatic depression, not only brought into existence a vast army of unemployed but has brought or should have brought America to a realization of an inexpressibly fatal fact.

The machine age has purged itself. It has maneuvered the unfit to the edge and has now pushed them over. The emergency which calls for pauperizing relief of those whom the machine has cast off is not a temporary but a permanent emergency. One searching the heart of the nation and challenging its intellect as nothing has challenged it since the Industrial Revolution and the Black Plague—for the new unemployment is itself a plague, a plague in which the victims do not die, but must live on, they and their families with them.

The sober truth is that the crisis we face today in our new machine civilization is more than a temporary one. It

is true that ever since the industrial revolution began about 150 years ago the machines have been throwing men out of work. That is nothing new. Our economists have minimized this because the machines seemed to create new jobs to make up for the men displaced. The creation of new jobs through the rise of the automobile industry is a great case in point. Our economists told us that all this was hard on the individual worker but there was so much greater good to society that we could afford to forget him. However, in the last few years this process of making new jobs has greatly slowed up. It is estimated that in this past ten years the railroads alone have displaced 300,000 railroad employees. In the making of hats, inventions, in the past two or three years, have made it possible for six men to do the work formerly done by thirty. It is a matter of common knowledge that the musicians are losing their jobs because of the new talking pictures which bring their music along with them. Eleven men used to operate trains in the New York subways; now, with the automatic controls, one motorman and one guard compose the crew. The nickel turnstiles have eliminated the ticket choppers. In every industry the machine has been making inroads upon the jobs of men. Indeed, Harry Laidler, in his new study of this subject, points out that, in spite of our great increase in production since 1921, nearly 2,300,000 have been permanently displaced by the machine. It is this basic fact which we must face. We may solve the present crisis. It is altogether likely that it will solve itself if we give it a little more time, but we have a permanent crisis which is much more serious and formidable and will not solve itself. What shall we say about this?

To my mind, no palliative measures will suffice. The machine has been a social product. No man is responsible

for its coming. We have all built it. It demands the co-operation of all of us to make it effective. It takes multitudes to build these machines and multitudes to run them. It is only a step, but a necessary and logical step, to realize that these machines will add little to human happiness until they are owned and controlled by the community as a whole. All agree that there has been overproduction but, at the same time, there are millions who do not have enough to eat, enough to wear and homes to live in. The machine must be used by all of us to get the things which we all need. There must come genuine social planning. This matter has become too much a matter of life and death to be left to individual whim or caprice. Just as, during the world war, our government, along with other governments, decided what should be made, so in the same way peace itself in a machine age becomes an emergency which demands rational planning. Today we face unemployment on a massive scale. Yet along with this there are people needing all the things the machine can make. It would be perfectly possible, as the world war proved, so to organize our life that the things we need could be made in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of all our people. Moreover, so productive is the machine that all this socially necessary work could be done without long hours of labor. Probably six would suffice; possibly much less. All that is needed is the community decision that the machine shall be used for the benefit of all the people rather than for the benefit of the few. Today employment has been slowed down, in a measure at least, because great financial interests have found more immediate profits in controlling production through mergers than in setting men at work making more products. Social planning would mean that the needs of all the people would be considered and first things would be put

first, just as, during the war, the socially necessary work would be given the first consideration. All the people would have bread before the few would have cake. Until something of this sort is done, in our basic industries at least, we will have to struggle with the menace of unemployment. When we do not actually have it, the spectre of it will haunt us.

I am quite aware that what I am proposing will seem too far-reaching, too radical to many. But sooner or later this problem will have to be faced in just this way. Unemployment insurance, the insistence that industry shall not throw all the burden on the worker, will do some good; the organizing of efficient public employment bureaus will help some men to find jobs; the planning of far-reaching building projects to meet such a time as the present—all this is to the good. Nevertheless, we will never really master the machine, we will never learn to ride what Stuart Chase very picturesquely calls our "billion wild horses" until we settle this problem as a people rather than leave it to the chance thought and the chance kindness of private individuals.

But back of this planning which we are advocating there stands an assumption, an assumption which to many will seem fatal. That assumption is that people will work sufficiently for the public good without the economic threat. Yet I believe that men and women can be persuaded to do their share of the world's work without the profit motive. We find that in schools and colleges, in lodges and various other forms of association, much of the work is done just because men and women feel that is their work

and ought to be done. We find that in Russia today no small part of the population is working without much hope of personal, material gain. We know that during the war our whole nation had a mind to work because it was actuated by a great patriotic fervor. Moreover, once hold up before a people the ideal of serving the community with the same zeal and insistence which we now use in holding up the ideal of personal success and results will follow which today seem impossible. Make it the thing to serve the community rather than to get rich. Make it as much of a disgrace to live without work as it is now to live by crime, and even stubborn human nature will seem to change. And it is right here that religion will be of inestimable service. It will show men and women what values are the highest and it will give them the strength to be faithful to those ideals. It will teach them that, in serving the community, in giving it their best, they are serving the very spirit of the life process. Religion will root these social values in the cosmic order itself. That this economic crisis in which we find ourselves today may make our thought tend toward these ideals and arouse us to the action that will make these ideals realities is the hope which this cruel unemployment brings. Why must we be like the Maine farmer? Let us rather, just as soon as better economic weather comes, dig down and lay our pipes so deep that no depression can freeze them. To give us the desire and the *will* to do this is the great task of religion in the years just ahead.



The Church and Organized Labor

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A STRIKE of the Dressmakers' Union was impending and an official of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) came to us with a request. "Can we use your social hall and galleries as one of our headquarters during the strike?" The location of our church in the center of the garment trade capitol placed us in a strategic position.

This question raised matters of policy and an affirmative answer would mean a new departure for us. The matter was gone into thoroughly by the members of our Committee (we are affiliated with a church on Fifth Avenue) and by the officers of our own church. Should a church concern itself so concretely with an industrial crisis? Might hospitality to this union give the impression that we were taking sides in the dispute, that we were passing judgment upon the merits of the question? Were there dangers of injury to our building in such a venture? Did we want to have dealings with trade unions anyway? There are rumors that the leaders of trade unions are worse than politicians. What would be the effect upon the more conservative members of our congregation? What did the mind of Christ reveal for our guidance? These matters were aired among ourselves, and authorities on the relations of church and labor were consulted. Finally, with misgivings on the part of a few, but with strong opposition on the part of none, we

reported to the union, acceding to its request.

At times there were twelve hundred strikers in our social hall. Another room was used as the executive office. Our other work went on as usual, with considerable interest evinced in it. One young striker spent a long time watching the Montessori School class, explaining to our worker how fond he was of small children. Another room, where a leader with children was making costumes, held the approving interest of other strikers. The leaders in charge of the strike co-operated in the finest way possible with the needs of our situation.

This relationship with the union has continued into the days of peace within the industry. Soon after the strike, the International held several mass meetings in our social hall to acquaint its members with just what had been its issue and what rights they had in respect to wages and working conditions. Many of the smaller local unions have met with us—they have held their elections here, they have had their social times of good fellowship and they have come to discuss and to decide matters of general business.

Thus began, in a rather startling and dramatic way, our contact with these men and women who come into our neighborhood in the morning to work and who leave it each evening to return to their distant homes. We were led to take this new step largely by the implications of our approach to our work. Our aim

has been to be a center of service to the neighborhood—and are not those who work within one's parish as much one's neighbors as those who live there? This was also our first contact with the workingman as a part of organized labor—and this in spite of the fact that ours has always been a workingman's neighborhood. And the thought of this paper is the significance of this new relationship.

Broadly speaking, there are three great areas in a workingman's life—that of his home, of his leisure time and of his work. In the neighborhood where he lives (such as ours has been and is largely still), there is his family and the scene of his leisure time. Our purpose has been to provide worth while activities for members of his family and himself in his free moments. And it is through these two gateways that character-forming agencies, such as social settlements and churches, have entered (or have tried to enter) the life of working people.

This is to say that even institutions whose membership is made up of working people have no direct relation to their working conditions. Whatever relation there exists is second-hand. They take the workingman where and whenever industry leaves off. These agencies are related, therefore, not to his work but rather to the consequences of his work both to himself and to his family. These agencies accept and do the best with such short hours of freedom as industry allows him and with the man himself after what his hours of work have done to him. The wages his employers see fit to pay largely determine the kind of home in which he can rear his children and the standard of living he is able to maintain. And within such limits these agencies seek to effect personality-enriching experiences.

In short, social centers and religious institutions touch a workingman not in the relations that center about his work,

but in the consequences of his work to himself and to his family; they seek not to affect his working conditions but to mold him and his family life in a setting largely determined by economics, which have their roots in his work. The church therefore joins with this man of labor in his domestic and recreational but not in his industrial relationships.

But what are these consequences with which such agencies are concerned? For the most part, even in days of so-called prosperity, they are "in the red" in respect to life's needs. The average American wage is beneath adequate living standards. Poor housing, criminal playground facilities, labor instability and defects of city life are due in a large measure to industry's failure to provide sufficiently for its workers. And so our institutions that are connected with such homes secure medical care at cost or lower, fresh air outings, afford playground facilities in our buildings or roofs and, in many cases, render actual relief. The method is that of doing something for these victims of industry's consequences by means of disbursing gifts of charity. This is done not only from the humanitarian point of view, but also with the realization that character has a better chance in a sound body and in an absence of emotional tensions. The method is not to reorganize industry so that such consequences may not occur, but to salvage such wreckage as is being continually cast up.

When it comes to moral training and religious instruction, the line that is most likely to be followed is one of personal ethics. The worker is assured that in his creative labor he is working with a God who is ever creating; but the question is not raised whether God wills that the man should express this divine urge daily under such conditions and for what are often life-starving rewards. The virtue of hard work will be stressed—indus-

triousness is part of the religious life. Full value received is the ideal, with no questions asked as to whom belongs the surplus above and beyond the value given for wages. With the virtue of industry will be coupled the urgency of honesty; let there be no thieving or lying. The honesty of exploitation is not brought within the orbit of this man's conscience. The value of personality in the sight of God will be dwelt upon—although little will be said about the apparently scant value attached to his personality by his God-fearing employer. The ideal of solidarity will be often to the fore—but nothing will be said concerning the solidarity that is latent in the relations between one workingman and another.

In short, it is an individual ethic which seeks to stir the conscience of this workingman and that of the members of his family. Where it relates itself to his work, it thinks of him as an individual whose duty it is to be hard-working, dependable in word and act, law-abiding and on good terms with all men. While the relation to his work is at best second-hand, just so long will a church tend to be benevolent as to the consequences of the work and individualistic as to the ethical demands upon him.

But there is something quite new in the relationship between the church and the workingman when he comes not as an individual in the mass of workers but as part of the organized labor movement. The attitude of the worker himself seems to me to be the creative factor in this change, transforming the basis upon which this relationship is built. He comes to the church not in reference to the consequences of his work but in regard to the work itself. He stands before us not as an individual entity lost in the conglomerate mass of workers but as part of a social entity—organized labor. He comes to the church not as a dependent seeking favors but as one trying to work

out his own salvation in industry.

To feel this, it is not necessary to approve of trade unionism in its entirety. I think one must feel that, in its prevailing philosophy and strategy, organized labor leaves much to be desired. We in the church, however, must be consistent in our judgment of others. It is patently unfair to judge the church in its modern condition; we ask that final judgment be made on the merits of its latent idealism and on its best practice. And such tests apply to every institution.

If our own situation is at all representative, organized labor makes an approach quite different from that made by unorganized labor. The former relationship involves not doing something for someone, but working with those who are working for themselves; not dependence but co-operation, not relief but self-reliance, is the keynote.

To the practice of charity, the trade union opposes self-reliance. "In unity there is strength" and the aim behind the organized labor movement is that through action taken by the group as a whole those consequences that mean the dependence of the individual will be avoided. The union we have dealt with seeks this by two means. First, it attempts to forestall the consequences that necessitate charity by effecting working conditions that will be adequate to self-reliant living. The aim is to prevent the cause rather than cure the consequences by securing an adequate wage.

But even when such adequacy is not sufficient to achieve complete individual independence, those who are organized look within and not without for first aid. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union runs its camp for its mothers and children; it has some provision for unemployment relief among its members; it conducts educational, recreational and social activities for the benefit of its members.

This emphasis on self-reliance through social action adds something new and distinctive to the relationship of the church and the industrial worker. Sympathy gives way to deserved respect, benevolence yields to partnership.

And this relationship is further altered by the new light in which the single worker stands before us. He is not alone, but is part of a large group, not blindly sharing common conditions, but sharing common purposes and efforts. His social relationship with the church has expanded from that of the simple contacts of the home. Individual ethics are not sufficient to deal with this man who is part of the organized labor movement. His relation to the working class is no longer incidental, but organic; not like fish swimming in the ocean, but like waves that are united in and through the water. He is no longer characterized by an individuality modified somewhat by simple industrial relationships, but by a solidarity ramified by many subtle ties.

This solidarity we felt in our contact with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. I feel that a unity has been achieved within this industrial group that to the church is still an ideal and not a practice. This unity is made out of such a diversity as Jews, Italians and Negroes—a rather inclusive heterogeneity of race, creed and nationality. I attended the mass meeting that was to decide upon the strike and within one hour listened to speeches in four languages—Yiddish, German, Italian and English. From my observation, I saw

no evidence of color prejudice—quite the opposite, in fact. The organizer of the shops in our block was a young Negro woman who had considerable charm and ability, and in many ways I saw signs of her leadership accepted as a matter of course. I venture no opinion as to how far the rank and file in their individual relationships have surmounted barriers of tradition and prejudice, but they have come far in working together for common purposes and ends.

It seems clear that any institution concerned with those who work, and which seeks to influence lives effectively, must relate itself directly with working conditions. And organized labor is the most likely entrance into this area of the workingman's life. Such a relationship will have to be cultivated patiently. There is much to be learned on both sides, much misunderstanding to be cleared away, much penetrating to ground held in common. But the ways are numerous. Offering of hospitality is but one of many; visiting in trade union councils, exchange of delegates, are others.

We of the church will have to let labor speak for itself concerning the value of such a relationship to organized labor. Of the value to us, however, there can be no doubt. It will open to us much that we should know and do and about which we now have blind spots. It will bring to us a richer fellowship with him who works. And it will join us with that movement that, potentially at least, tends toward a reconstruction of our social order on a basis of more justice.



Are We Caught?

CHARLES C. WEBBER

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THE EXPERIENCES of a number of ministers and religious workers in communities where there have been industrial conflicts raises this pertinent question. Are they, as well as a majority of the ministers and religious education directors located in industrial centers, so caught in the meshes of the present economic system that in time of crises they are unable to uphold the "Social Creed of the Churches?"

This Creed, adopted by the Federal Council of Churches in 1908, among other things calls for "the right of employees and employers alike to organize" and for "the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised."

Consider the situation that confronted certain ministers and religious workers in western Pennsylvania some time ago. The main industries of the county were coal mining and the making of coke. Dotting the county were over fifty mining villages and towns, each with a tipple and a cluster of buildings around the mouth of the mine; long lines of coke ovens shooting forth flames, smoke and gas; rows of drab and dreary houses; and a company store, a small school-house and a one-room church.

Some of these church buildings were on mining company property. The companies either furnished the heat from the company heating plant or donated the coal. The companies also repaired the churches free of charge. Occasion-

ally, a religious worker found that part of his salary was paid directly by a mine superintendent.

In the larger towns and cities, the ministers found that their main financial support came from the owners of the coal mine and mine officials.

Under such circumstances, is it not clear what course would be taken by the religious workers when the coal miners of the county went out on strike for the right to belong to the United Mine Workers Union, and for the privilege of paying check-weighmen out of their own pockets?

When the miners and their families, totaling ten thousand or more people, were evicted from their homes and compelled to live in tents, even through the freezing weather, as far as is known no local church gave relief. It was even reported that one minister refused to bury the dead child of a striker.

The minister of a church in one of the larger villages, when asked concerning his attitude toward the strike, said: "I am in sympathy with the miners in their endeavor to have a union, but I do not dare to take an open stand. Both my church and parsonage are heated and lighted by the company. If they found out that I was sympathetic with the miners in their demands they would cut off my heat and light."

A young minister, upon being transferred into the district, was warned by two prominent ministers to "keep in with"

the coal companies and by all means not to let the companies know that he had been sent there by a certain socially-minded bishop prominent in the steel strike investigation.

Several of the Sunday schools were badly disrupted by the strike. The children of the strike-breakers and the children of the strikers did not get along well together. Consequently the strikers' children stopped attending. The director of religious education was asked why she did not call on them and try to win them back. She replied, "It would not be advisable to work among them. The company would not like it."

Her associate was highly praised by a mine superintendent because "she kept the wives of the strike-breakers contented."

Not only were religious leaders consciously or unconsciously restrained in their activities, but they were openly used as tools by the coal companies to thwart the union. When the union announced a large strike meeting, a mine official immediately telephoned to a minister and asked that a motion picture program be put on in the church building as a counter-attraction. The request was complied with!

After the strike had been on for several months and it was evident that it was lost, a resolution was introduced at a meeting of a ministerial association requesting the mine owners at least to allow the miners to select and pay their own check-weighmen. It was pointed out that denial of the right to select their check-weighmen was one of the major grievances causing the strike and that its remedy would be but an act of justice and fair play; that the check-weighmen would only see that the weights of cars of coal mined by their fellow-miners and recorded by the company weighmen checked with those recorded by the scale.

When the vote was taken the resolu-

tion was "snowed under." Several of the ministers, in explaining their negative votes, frankly said, "We do not wish to incur the displeasure of our leading contributors." (At the next meeting the same ministers passed a resolution asking the coal companies to deny their miners the privilege of playing baseball on the company playgrounds on Sunday —thus "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.")

The ministers in the mining districts of the United States are not the only ones who are caught. The mesh of capitalistic domination and control extends to many other industrial areas of the United States.

In the textile villages of the South not only have the church sites either been given or loaned by the mill owners, but the church buildings have been paid for, in whole or in part, by them. Also heat and light are furnished free. Many of the ministers are paid in part out of company funds and, in many instances, they live in company houses with light, heat and rent free.

The ministers in the larger centers, like those in the mining towns, often find that their churches are dependent on the mill owners, mill officials and the professional and business people who are in sympathy with the mill owners.

Small wonder, then, that the ministers in such places as Elizabethton, Tennessee, Marion and Gastonia, North Carolina, and Danville, Virginia, have been, on the whole, either hostile or non-committal toward the efforts of the textile strikers to gain union recognition.

"Some of the ministers of Elizabethton, Tennessee, armed with 'yellow-dog contracts' went around getting the strikers to sign and go back to their jobs," according to A. J. Buttrey in *The World Tomorrow*. Others made long speeches against the union officials. The president of the ministerial association refused to

allow the vice-president of the United Textile Workers to appear before that organization. When President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, went to Elizabethon, the ministers refused to greet him. They were afraid such an act would be construed as evidence of their sympathy with organized labor.

A pastor at Marion, North Carolina, is reported by a striker to have "talked against the union since before the strike. Got so he wouldn't speak to us union people. So nobody goes to that church any more except a few non-union people."

In Danville, Virginia, several of the ministers did not approve of the textile workers joining the United Textile Workers Union. The ministers were bound too closely to the interests of the principal mill owner.

Does the mesh of economic determinism entangle religious workers in the communities of diversified industries as well as in the company-controlled coal and textile villages? They are ensnared in any situation where a strike breaks out or a conflict arises over an economic issue.

A strike for union recognition took place in a silk hosiery mill in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, this past year. Notwithstanding the fact that there are hosiery, cement, guitar, waist and other industries in the town and no industry has company houses or a church, only one minister out of six declared openly that the strikers should have the right to belong to the union. The others were unable to free themselves from the network of influences that were brought to bear upon them.

The mill owner called on one minister who had evinced a slight interest in the strike. Thereafter, that man became inactive and maintained a discreet silence. A minister who did not attend a conciliation meeting after promising to do so said he had found out that it was not best for

him to interfere in any way with the strike. A certain minister, whenever he was asked to serve on a conciliation committee, would always reply that the time was not yet ripe. Another clergyman, who personally approved of the efforts of hosiery workers to organize, was kept from making any public statement because his people, who were not strikers, had asked him to refrain.

When a conciliator, sent in by a national religious organization, wrote letters to seventy-seven ministers in the county where Nazareth is located, offering to speak in their churches on the "Social Creed," he received a specific invitation from but one minister. Others wrote that their official boards, after discussing the matter, had decided they could not allow such an address.

A sufficient number of cases of religious workers who have been unable to free themselves from economic influences can be cited to warrant the conclusion that, if strikes for the recognition of unions should occur in every industrial center in the United States, the majority of the Protestant clergy and directors of religious education would find themselves on the side of the opponents of the workers, whether they wanted to or not. Investigations show that the ratio of negative or hostile religious workers to those who have valiantly stood for the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively is about ten to one.

These past alignments have had certain important consequences. Many ministers, feeling hopelessly caught, despair of making their ministry count in the building of a new social order. A Nazareth minister, in discussing the strike situation, remarked that he recognized our present economic system as un-Christian and that unless Christianity could transform business practices there was grave danger that religion would eventually become so ineffective that it

would be discarded. "But what can I do?" he asked. "My official board has gone on record telling me to keep out of the strike. I want to help but I dare not do so." He feared for himself and his family if he acted contrary to the ruling of the board.

His desire to practice the social gospel was frustrated by economic considerations. Doubtless an inner conflict was begun which will not only limit his usefulness as a minister, but cause him much unhappiness as he battles with himself.

Some ministers suppress their economic convictions, devote their energies to the building of ritualistic worship services and to the development of devotional meetings, rationalizing their conduct by stating that religion is only concerned with the individual's relationship to God and not with social and economic issues. Others, when faced with industrial crises, permanently leave the church and align themselves with labor and radical organizations.

The church, one of whose functions is to bring in the Kingdom of God on earth, suffers. It loses those leaders who might help it most effectively to achieve its purpose. It becomes, in many instances, an institution that is completely divorced from the vital issues of life.

Directors of religious education are handicapped. They want the young people in the church school to learn the facts in industrial controversies, to analyze them and then to act in the light of Christian principles. The moment such proposals are made, opposition arises. Parents do not want their sons and daughters to become involved. The directors give up the projects, turn their attention to less controversial fields and foster restricted and narrow programs concerned more with tithing mint, anise and cummin, than with the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy. Recently, the director of religious educa-

tion in a wealthy church near New York City, who was planning a trip to the city with his young people to see the bread lines and other relief measures and to study unemployment, was forced to abandon this plan.

Industrial workers lose faith in the church. They realize that the churches are often dependent on contributions from people in the higher income classes and they have but little hope that the local churches will stand by the declarations of their national religious bodies on social questions when a test comes. "The Social Creed is fine theoretically," they say, "but local churches do not dare to live up to it when a fight is on." A labor leader writes:

The ministers and priests of my acquaintance were not interested in labor problems; the more orthodox they were, the less interested they seemed to be. When I decided that the best service I could render humanity would be to work with unions to do away with sweat shops and secure better wages for men and women, and I still found that the churches were not interested in these things, my mind swung way off, not only from belief in the church but from belief in God as well.

Many labor leaders and workers have had similar experiences and have become indifferent or hostile to the church.

The most serious consequence of this intimate tie-up of the churches to the present economic order is a marked retardation of the transition from a profit-making competitive system, characterized by unemployment, poverty and unjust distribution of wealth, to a co-operative system based on the service motive. The economic system is breaking down. It is unable to guarantee the simplest essentials of living. Human needs for food, clothing and shelter are not being adequately met. Millions are denied the right to earn a living and the satisfaction of having a job. A change is imperative. Yet many churches remain defenders of the status quo.

What hope, then, is there that churches can break through their economic chains

and become dynamic moral forces in accelerating the movement for a new social order?

Representatives of the Federal Council of Churches have stood for the Social Creed in strike situations. Various denominational bodies have formulated social pronouncements that are radical in character. Outstanding church leaders have proclaimed the social gospel in places where it was not the popular thing to do.

A minority group of ministers and directors of religious education are standing by in difficult situations. They recognize that they do not live on a Robinson Crusoe's island but in a complex civilization where they are exposed to the insidious effects of the capitalistic philosophy of life. Undaunted, they are carrying forward programs of education that are undermining the faith of their people in profit-seeking activities and winning them to lives of service for the common good.

They familiarize themselves not only with the ideals, aims and methods of financiers and captains of industry, but also with the goals and policies of the trade unionist, the Rochdale co-operators, the socialist and the communist. Facts as to industrial conditions in their communities are ascertained. They learn what wages are being paid, what dividends have been declared, the hours of labor, whether or not unions are recognized and what provisions exist for the

prevention of unemployment.

In personal conferences, discussion groups and sermons they are presenting the challenge of a Christian social order. They are attacking poverty and unemployment.

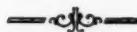
Controversial issues are dealt with in their church schools in a spirit of seeking after truth and the truth leads to action.

Workers' educational enterprises are aided and, in some instances, are housed within church buildings. Campaigns for old age pensions, unemployment insurance and the restriction of the injunction in industrial disputes are supported.

Industrial workers striking for the right to organize are allowed to meet in their churches and, if free speech and picketing are prohibited by the authorities, they test the rulings.

Their small number must become a majority if the churches are increasingly to become more effective instruments for the realization of the kingdom of man and of God, a kingdom where, in the words of Borden P. Bowne,

. . . humanity shall come to its own, where physical nature shall be subdued to human service beyond all present conception; where want and disease shall have disappeared, where the social order shall be an expression of perfect justice, where the race shall be rich enough to afford all its members the opportunity of a truly human existence, where the bondage of physical drudgery shall have been taken off from human shoulders, where the treasures of knowledge shall be a universal possession, and where over against these external conditions there shall be a moral spirit wise enough to use them and strong enough to control them.



The Church's Responsibility for Unemployment*

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THE RECIPE for rabbit pie begins, "First, catch the rabbit." It is difficult to identify "the church" for the appraisal demanded by our subject. Even among those who employ the term and insist upon their identification with the church, hopeless divergencies and irreconcilable differences prevail. There is but one true church for the half of Christendom and the use of the term by the other half is uncompromisingly resented. Indeed, there are groups who begrudge the use of the term even to the other groups who share their exclusion from the one "true church."

All this is pointed out, not to belabor a name, but to emphasize the difficulty of sweeping into one category the varied and often mutually antagonistic institutions which our program-makers evidently designed should be embraced under the term given us. Is it not hopeless on the face of the matter to attempt fixing responsibility upon so intangible a substance? How can the church, so conceived and defined, be accounted responsible for anything?

Let us try another approach. All of these institutions, however divergent their forms or aims, have this mark in common: they claim the prerogative and assume to mediate religion to the community, or to particular social groups. Yet, here again, our next step is embarrassed

if not balked. Each interprets religion after its own pleasure or genius. And wide differences in their interpretations prevail. Some which profess the "true religion" uncompromisingly brand the religion of the others as false.

And even though we waive these differences and allow each to shape its own definition of religion, we are faced with a new difficulty in a wide and again irreconcilable difference in the impact of their varying conceptions of religion upon such social problems as that which we are asked to consider. One of the foremost authorities in religion has recently and dramatically declared that human beings are essentially creatures of another world than this and that no interference is permissible by social processes with their getting either into or out of this life. This and other religious interpretations imply that invasion on the part of religious institutions of the economic or civil domain is strictly limited, if not forbidden. These advocates of religion resent the implication that such questions as unemployment can be thrust upon their institutions. They demand that the things of God and the things of Caesar shall be strictly differentiated and that Caesar alone shall be held responsible for matters which they deem so essentially his as are employment and unemployment.

I cannot escape the conviction, therefore, that we are shut up to a negative reply to our question. No, the church has not responsibility for unemployment.

*A paper given at the Middle Atlanta Area Regional Conference of the Religious Education Association at the Riverside Community Church, New York City, January 26-27. The conference considered "The Social and Ethical Consequences of Unemployment."

At least none can be fixed upon it. Particular churches may have responsibility, limited to that degree which each voluntarily assumes. Those which do voluntarily assume responsibility need not be lectured or "discussed" into a sense of their obligation; they already have it and feel it and are doing something about it. Those which decline to accept such responsibility properly resent attempts to cold them into assumptions which, they believe, violate their genius.

But there is more to be said. Practical questions remain. Is it to the good of the community that churches should assume responsibility? The reply involves two lines of discussion. The first raises technical considerations. The second looks toward a sound sociology.

Unemployment is a technical problem, highly technical. Discriminating citizens will reserve their thrills for the announcement that engineers, industrial organizers, vocational educators and personnel experts are taking hold; they experience no great elation when they learn that emergencies like the present have moved clergymen, Sunday school workers, Men's Bible classes and members of the Ladies' Aid Society to more intensive activity. Some churches have rushed into the present situation with the erection of new placement agencies under their immediate auspices and have shown great zeal in seeking to induce employers to take on those whom they press upon their consideration. The result is usually the further confusion of a situation already highly complicated. These churchly activities have helped in the break-down of many standard employment agencies, public and licensed. The result has been the substitution, in a time of peculiar stress, of inexperienced, inefficient employment agencies in the place of agencies with trained staffs and tested technique.

Churches cannot create jobs. The present distress grows out of the fact that

enough jobs are not to be had. Zeal of the churches and the pressure of the motives which they commonly urge have simply dislocated personnel within the employment areas which have still remained. The need of the times has been more jobs and then more. Churches have been quite unable to meet this need. Their placement activities, where successful, have merely located their favorites in certain of the few jobs which have been available.

The community has been facing a stressful economic situation. The specialty of churches may be said to be good will. But good will has not been flagrantly lacking in this emergency. The steely-eyed employer who recklessly fires workers has not been conspicuous. Heartlessness has been relatively rare to the mass of industrial dislocations incident to this catastrophe. Many employers have retained workers to the last extremity. There simply have not been jobs to go around.

It has been easy for detached idealists to prescribe remedies and define the duty of employers. But bankruptcy is often no respecter of persons or of institutions. Churches and religious institutions have probably not been behind other employers in pruning their payrolls. A church with a deficit, and facing a bigger, is as unsatisfactory an employer as is the manager of a factory who has no orders and whose books are already in the red.

One of the leading New York newspapers has run repeated editorials pointing out the duty of all employers to retain their wage scales and payrolls intact. Yet one of the most fulsome of these editorials almost exactly synchronized with the moment when the management of that newspaper turned off more than a hundred of its staff. Such pruning may be a scandal to the editorial tenets of a newspaper or to preachments from a pulpit, but they are sometimes essential economic sur-

gery; complete bankruptcy would be the only alternative. In that event, all go down, not simply a few.

A stern and exceedingly needful lesson which churches and all of us should learn from this experience is that economic problems must be solved by economic processes. Only limitedly can new jobs in the industrial field be created by pronouncements from pulpits. The chief function of churches in the present emergency has been to applaud wise economic measures promoted by economic forces and agencies and to denounce unwise measures. Discrimination in distinguishing the wise from the unwise is a fine art in which even ministers of the gospel are not always expert. Not even divine inspiration appears infallibly to qualify churchmen in economics.

In the second place, an extension of this line of thinking compels us to work out a sounder sociology than that commonly accepted. Certain essential human elements have been lacking in our economic system. Few responsible industrial leaders are now oblivious to this fact. But only economic tyros know off-hand how to incorporate these needful factors. Democracy of control is seriously lacking. Wealth sadly needs redistribution. These facts have been ground into the consciousness of everybody who boasts a consciousness. Preachers in pulpits cannot say this as eloquently as can and have numerous economists and industrial magnates in their own conclaves and from public rostra. The sense of need is not generally lacking. Practical technique is what no one has yet supplied and what no one as yet seems quite capable of supplying.

Now, of course I am not so guileless as to assert that our industrial magnates and financiers and managers of factories and mills have discovered a consuming passion to redeem our society from its economic blunders and iniquities, lacking

only the means to achieve their saintly purposes. A selfish profit motive is all too regnant. The iniquities of our economic system are outrageous and the groans of the multitudes who suffer from them sound to heaven. The prophets of the Lord should cry aloud and spare not. But these cries will sound as ridiculous in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth as they do in those of thoughtful citizens in our several communities, if they attribute malice and greed to those who are only ignorant and who flounder in the sloughs of their own inept good intentions. The "malefactors of great wealth" are sitting in church pews. It is true that the iniquities of our economic system could be banished forthwith by wise and concerted effort on the part of churchmen, but their churchmanship offers not the key to our problem so much as does their acumen as economists and their skill as managers of industry. Profoundly as any may be convinced that in the hunger and distress of the present time searching religious considerations are involved, none can escape the fact that we here deal with an economic problem. Only economic measures can finally touch it.

If one wishes to be super-practical and get down to the fundamentals of the situation, one might suggest to Dr. Fosdick and to Dr. Reiland that they call in Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan, or mount their respective pulpits when these eminent laymen are present and remind them of their complicity. While all right-minded citizens must recognize the wisdom and conscience of these two financiers in wielding their enormous, autocratic power in our present economy, yet none can be blind to the fact that the same system which lodges this power with them endows with similar despotic authority certain unregenerate scions of the house of Gould, certain socially irresponsible members of the Vanderbilt family, Harry Sinclair with his spendthrift rac-

ing stables and his scandalous methods of conducting oil affairs and numerous other individuals whose arbitrary power is a menace to democracy and social health. If a true economic democracy is worked out it must inevitably shear all of this despotic power, these worthy potentates of wealth as well as the rowdies and spendthrifts who so scandalously dissipate the common stores.

If one is disposed to be hard and logical he might lay this burden upon these eminent ministers. I certainly do not presume to press any such proposal. I do not know what is Dr. Fosdick's and Dr. Reiland's duty in the premises. I am confident that ministers here present and ministers generally will not press the point either, for consistency would at once demand that they perform a similar office in respect of the hundreds and thousands of laymen in the pews of their own churches who wield similar and varying degrees of power in our economic community.

An outstanding feature of the present economic crisis is that it has vastly increased despotic power in the hands of relatively few. Even against their will these potentates have been made more the autocrat. Wealth was being widely distributed. The small investor was feeling his liberty and he used it last year in wild speculation. The so-called crash on Wall Street was a process whereby the little men were squeezed out and society's economic resources were concentrated as never before in the power of the big men.

This phenomenon is more momentous than the temporary sufferings of the multitudes now out of work. The fact that small investors themselves ran wild in speculation and invited the catastrophe which befell them does not alter, except as it may increase, the seriousness of the crisis for industrial democracy. Our

present point is that the church possesses no magic which endows churchmen with a wisdom above other citizens in facing the grave economic and social problems which have emerged.

We have said that the church is not responsible. It is not, in the strict address to the facts which we have attempted in this discussion. In a latitudinarian interpretation, of course the church is responsible. The religious mind ought to recognize every human problem as its own. The Kingdom of God, or the good society, or whatever else may be said to embody the hopes of the religious soul, will never be brought in while such outrageous sacrifice of essential human values is possible as that which has overwhelmed our society during the past year. No other economic crisis in our history has been so manifestly born of the follies and selfishness and reckless over-reaching and silly cowardice of men. No "act of God" was this. The irregularity of nature in the drought of the Middle West during the past summer is an incident which loses substantive significance in appraising the causes of the economic debacle.

Such colossal blundering as has distinguished this crisis is necessarily the concern of institutions and programs which seek to make men holy and godlike. The holy man of today may well go down on his knees beside the medieval saint who sought his cell each evening to repent of the sins of mankind. The churchman of today may well repent of the blunders and self-seeking and muddling of his day and his society. For he is they and they are he. The life and interests of us all, spiritual and economic, religious and secular, are bound in one bundle, and it is a poor religion, a lame religious institution, which does not face the fact and accept the obligations which it imposes.

Industrial Relations and Character

JAMES MYERS

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NOT BEING a psychologist or an educator I shall not presume to present a technical paper on the effect of industrial relations on the conduct of industrial workers and the effect of individual character on industrial relations. It is my intention merely to describe certain things which I have seen and heard in the course of seven years spent as personnel director in a factory and during the past six years as I have come into contact with many industries.

A striking illustration of the effect of the industrial relationship on the conduct and character of a worker occurred a few years ago in a printing concern with which I was acquainted. The owners of the shop were at their wits' end to know what to do about one of their printers who was capable and highly skilled but who spent most of his time talking, criticising, complaining, agitating and making trouble. The company finally decided upon the bold experiment of taking this man into the firm as a junior partner. Some months later I asked the president what the effect of this move had been. "Do you know," he replied, "that man isn't *talking* any more, but he's *working* like the devil." How significant that was! There was the same identical individual, with the same education, the same religious and ethical background, the same temperament, the same ability. Nothing was changed except the industrial relationship under which he worked. Yet his conduct was completely altered.

Occasionally some sentimental business man, an editor or perhaps a preacher, will tell us that capital and labor are really partners and then inquire somewhat pell-mell, "why don't they act like partners?" The answer is simple. Capital and labor are not partners. The three essential principles of partnership are: (1) a share in the ownership and profits as well as risks of the business; (2) knowledge of the facts of the business, including the profits and losses and the problems of its management; and (3) a voice in its management. Under our capitalistic system, labor shares with capital in none of these three essential principles of partnership. Labor does not share in the ownership of American industry to the extent of any appreciable control. Labor does not share in the profits of the ordinary industrial concern, although the workers are the first to suffer loss in slack time and unemployment and labor alone runs the risk of accident and occupational disease. Labor does not share a knowledge of the business. The books of the company are not open to the workers. If they inquire about the inside facts of profit and loss and the intimate problems of management, they are commonly told that these things are none of their business. Labor has no recognized voice in management, no democratic representation in the councils of the company. Labor and capital are not partners. Therefore they do not act like partners.

In the Columbia Conserve Company

of Indianapolis where the workers now own and manage the company, and in a few other concerns where industrial relations have, to some degree, been based upon the principles of partnership, remarkable changes have occurred in the morale of the workers, in their attitudes toward quality and quantity of production, the elimination of waste and efficiency. In one concern operating under a partnership arrangement, one of the workers, through sheer carelessness, caused a loss of several thousand dollars. In the ordinary factory there is philosophic indifference among the rank and file to such waste. "The company's rich —let them stand it" is the usual comment. In this case, the entire working force was indignant at such careless workmanship. One Italian walked up to the offending worker and tried to collect six dollars in cash for his share of the lost profits!

The ordinary industrial concern fails to elicit from its employees the kind of response which comes from partners because the ordinary business is conducted primarily for the profit of the stockholders and managed on the principle of autocratic control. The ultimate authority lies in the owners who deal with labor through their own appointed representative, the factory manager. No provision is made for labor representation. So subtle and far-reaching are the effects on the conduct of workers of this autocratic principle in industrial management that we shall discuss this particular phase of present industrial relations in further detail.

Autocracy tends to produce one of two reactions in those living or working under its sway. Autocracy creates either the mind of the slave or the mind of the rebel. The political history of many nations will bear this out.

On the one hand, we have the servile attitudes of unorganized workers who docilely accept without question the de-

cisions of the management even though they may affect the most intimate fortunes of their lives, their health and living standards, the amount of food, clothing and education they can provide for their children. When workers do not dare to raise their voices in effective protest against autocratic control of their own most personal, vital interests, how far does their psychology differ from the mind of the slave or serf? It differs principally in the modern worker's knowledge of his right to change his employer. "If he doesn't like it, he can at least get out." But he has to go to work in the next shop under substantially the same conditions. The unorganized worker is, therefore, of necessity servile in his attitude to his employer. Servility is not productive of industrial efficiency or of the highest type of character. Much of the psychology of the workers which has been the despair of management is attributable to the servile mind.

The precious instincts of independence, initiative and self-assertiveness to which the very progress of the race has been largely attributable have been constantly and consistently suppressed in masses of working people by the operation of the principle of autocracy in industrial management. Not only so, but the equally deep-rooted human instinct of possessiveness is also thwarted and denied in the soul of the servant-worker by the very facts of the case. The servant-worker does not own his job. He does not own his tools. He does not own the materials which he handles. He owns no part of the finished product which he helps to create. The creative instinct is robbed of a vital urge by the fact that the servant-worker does not own any part of that which he creates. He has no interest in the business, in either sense of the expression, and the one fact explains the other! He is not a partner. The wage-earner is, in fact, a servant, working under orders

upon materials belonging to another, for the profit of his master. His psychological reactions are simply attuned to the facts of the case. That owners and managers are not satisfied with these mental reactions of employees to their work—that the industrial servility which capitalism has itself induced and insisted upon is not satisfactory or efficient is attested by the variety and complexity of the cunning devices of all sorts now being utilized by management in an effort to get better work out of employees. Yet only the removal of the cause will ultimately eliminate the mind of the slave in our industrial workers.

Equally interesting are the manifestations of the rebel mind in industrial workers. The servant mind turns into the mind of the rebel and joins in a walk-out when conditions get bad enough. Even Rome had its slave rebellions and the Middle Ages their peasant wars. In Greenville, South Carolina, two years ago, I saw a strange combination of the rebel and the slave in the psychology of the strikers. Twelve hundred strong they walked out of the mills in protest against the "stretch out" which was adding burdens they felt they could not bear. They conducted a vigorous strike on their own initiative and without any outside leadership. Yet the strike slogan on their banners read "A Plea for Mercy!"

Not only under conditions of the extreme provocation of bad conditions does the rebel mind manifest itself. The more independent and courageous among industrial workers normally react as rebels to the autocratic principle in management. A man's pay envelope, the number of hours he works per day and days per week, the safety and comfort of his daily working conditions, protection against unjust discharge, the kind of a house he can live in, the provision he can make for his wife and children—these things are so closely bound up with his life, liberty and pursuit of happiness that he is not content

to have no voice in their determination. He rebels against autocracy in management and demands a voice in these matters through collective bargaining. The labor unions have been pioneers in demanding a measure of democracy in industry—a voice for the workers in its control. The unions have no doubt done more than any other single force toward securing status for the worker and elevating his standards of living. Yet the very fact that these things have been accomplished through fighting an industrial autocracy which, in most cases, has been unwilling to recognize the union until it was forced to do so, has left in the labor movement a conflict psychology, a rebel-mindedness which is not the last word toward industrial efficiency or ethical idealism. Here again the only way to eliminate the mind of the rebel is to remove its cause. Its cause is autocracy in the management of industry.

Where the union has been recognized and where union-management co-operation agreements have been entered into, such as in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad shops, one ordinarily finds the rebel mind giving place to the mind of an industrial citizen. I asked a high official of a concern where such a plan was in operation if he had observed any difference in the morale of the workers. "The principal change I have noticed," he replied, "is in the attitudes of the union officials. They don't come in here any more with a chip on their shoulder just looking for a fight. They seem to want to help work things out for the good of all concerned." When autocracy in management gives place to democratic relations and co-operation, the mind of the industrial citizen emerges. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers provide another case in point. Once established in an industry, they turn their attention to co-operation for efficiency and production. Their organizers approach the investigation of the difficulties which arise

in the shop not as rebel leaders ready to fight the management at the drop of the hat, but as engineers seeking to analyze the trouble and make constructive adjustments. This change in relations, by the way, tends to develop a different type of labor union leader. Once a union is firmly established and recognized, the old "fighting man" is not needed any longer as a leader. In his stead rises a union official with a knowledge of economics, techniques of production, machinery, markets, an eye to business, efficiency and expansion. Nothing has changed except the relations of the union and the management, but you tend to get a new type of labor union leader as well as a rank and file of workers who look upon themselves to some degree as citizens and partners in the enterprise.

In another industry where workers had exhibited the typical servile attitudes of unorganized workers for a hundred years, a sincere partnership plan was set up. The principal difficulty in operating the plan proved to be that of persuading workers to speak out and say what they thought. Servility dies hard. It is a startling innovation to say "no" to the boss, even though your negative be couched in parliamentary language, if all your life you have been a "yes" man. The fear of losing one's job lies deep in the psychology of industrial workers. Eventually, however, confidence was established and a very considerable degree of mutual and constructive criticism was indulged in between the workers and the management and in their joint councils. The mind of the servant gave place under a degree of industrial democracy to the mind of the citizen.

CHARACTER A FACTOR IN SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There is another side to the matter. It is true that the industrial relation under which one works vitally affects one's attitudes and conduct. But it is also true that moral character is a vital

factor in any given industrial relationship and will constitute an increasingly important determinant as industry becomes democratized.

As a matter of fact, character largely determines comparative individual efficiency from that of the president of the company to the most humble "sweeper-up" in a factory. A similar lack of conscience may make the sweeper neglect the corners of the stairs and the president cut corners in high finance or neglect unpleasant details in industrial management. Moral qualities tend to make or mar individual efficiency. Extreme egotism, for instance, can ruin an otherwise competent executive. Jealousy of his own authority, unwillingness to allow subordinates any show of power—just moral failings of this kind may cause a manager to tie himself up in detail and hamper his own usefulness. Nor does he get the best work out of his subordinates and associates who chafe under the repression of their own self-assertiveness and whose sense of responsibility and initiative are deadened, making them also less capable and less efficient members of the organization. Nothing wrong except spiritual defects in the character of the manager! But the deleterious effect upon the business efficiency of the entire plant may sometimes be distinctly traced to this cause! The same thing holds true all down the line to the foremen, second hands and "straw bosses." Their character counts for or against efficiency in the mill. Uncontrolled tempers, domineering attitudes, unfairness, favoritism, meanness in supervisory officials should be catalogued under the head of major causes of industrial inefficiency. On the other hand, a just manager or foreman, patient, sympathetic, broad-minded, willing to give credit where credit is due, "white" and "square," inspires hearty loyalty in an organization and gets twice as much work and twice as good work out of the men under him.

Among the rank and file, also, character is a determining factor in efficiency. A foreman will tell you that one of his workers is efficient or inefficient, basing his opinion not only upon manual dexterity but largely upon moral character,—upon whether or not the man has shown himself to be lazy, stubborn, selfish, unreliable, mean, tricky, sour; or conscientious, ambitious, cheerful, faithful, reliable, ready to help. Faith, hope and love are personal efficiency standards in the work-a-day world.

Nor is there reason to suppose that they will become less so, however ideal some future social order may be. No social or industrial system as such will make men work together in peace. A machine runner once said, "I wish you would cut out that stuff about us all being 'partners'—it's a joke! What's the use of talking like that to me when I'd like to cut the throat of that guy over on the next machine?" Well, I submit, what is the use? The slogans of social theory are powerless unless individuals feel good will, unless the hearts of men and women are touched with the necessary grace to sustain them through the day in the practice of patience with each other's weaknesses, in gentleness, in unselfishness and in a spirit of co-operation as they go about their work and engage in common enterprise.

The problem of successful industrial co-operation is, to a large extent, one of moral character. In fact it is well to remind ourselves that with the coming of further democracy in industrial relations, whatever political or economic form the new social order may take, heavier demands are going to be made upon moral idealism in the conduct of industry. A democratic industrial order by its very nature will call for a higher degree of co-operation and social cohesion and will necessitate larger vision among the masses and their leaders, more unity,

purer devotion and a broader spirit of service. The divisive immorality of selfishness, prejudice, gossip, factions, pride and strife are deadly enemies to the co-operative life.

Democracy in industry, whatever the exact forms it may take, will demand a higher morality among the worker-citizens. But while democracy demands a higher morality, happily the influence of democracy itself will tend to develop the higher morality upon which democratic society must depend. Strictly speaking, democracy is the only moral form of government, political or industrial. "Any other government," says Stanton Coit, "any rule by one, or by a few for the many, is at best a moral pauperization of the many. It may give them creature comforts, it cannot awaken moral dignity. Only the conferring of conscious sovereignty with its responsibilities and its discipline can communicate character." Industrial paternalism, for instance, treats the workers as perpetual children and tends to keep them forever in a state of moral immaturity. No matter how beneficent or generous may be the paternalistic provisions of kindly employers for their workers, the very attitudes of paternalism unconsciously rob the workers of their most precious heritage as human beings and prevent them from developing the habit of responsibility and the independent judgment of morally full-grown men and women. The coming of democracy in industry is the major hope for opening up to the masses larger opportunity for the positive development of their moral life. Collective responsibility for the daily task of production—industrial self-government—will throw upon the masses the necessity for the constant exercise of self-direction and self-control, which alone can strengthen the moral fiber of an industrial society and produce the higher morality which is both demanded by and only possible in a democracy.

An Experiment in Industrial Democracy

WILLIAM P. HAPGOOD

President, The Columbia Conserve Company

THE DEFINITION of industrial democracy which I prefer is similar to Lincoln's description in his famous Gettysburg Address of our experiment in political government: "Government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers." Under such a government, the laws of industry would be made by the workers and not by the owners. Just as in political government the making of laws is a human right and not an economic right, so in industrial government the control and direction of business should be vested in the industrial citizens, the workers. These laws should deal with all matters concerning those who work. Not only would the workers determine the length of time they should work, but they would also determine their incomes, their share of the total production, choose their own associates and release them, elect their own leaders, promote and demote them, and decide upon all the policies of the business.

In 1917, when I told the then small group of Columbia workers of the change that was about to take place in the government of the company, I also said they could, as rapidly as they chose, have the power to do the things I have just enumerated. Those who understood did not believe me and very few understood. Why should they? Their own experiences, as well as those of their forefathers, told them it was all a lie. As a consequence, the first great problem was to gain the confidence of our employees. I realized that time, supported by integrity of purpose and by patience, would

bring that about. Not only the workers but the owners had to be tested.

Our second problem was to stimulate the workers' confidence in themselves. There are few persons who have sufficient confidence to disregard precedent and public opinion and to launch forth on an untried course. That is particularly true of manual workers. Doubt of their own capacity to enter into business management has been the characteristic which has delayed more than anything else the Columbia experiment in self-government. In some cases this doubt is justified, but in most cases it is my belief that workers can contribute more to problems of management and of social relations than they are yet convinced they can. This lack of self-confidence both safeguards and endangers our experiment, much as it does other human activities. It protects the experiment from rashness on the part of those who are not fully acquainted with the problems with which they have to deal, but it also lays the group open to too much control by technicians.

The greatest danger in democracy lies with the leaders and not with the rank and file. It is not chiefly the ignorance and incompetence of the workers which prevent the advancement of democracy. If some of the great technicians in this country would seek to gain their chief pleasure through an honest effort to help workers achieve a more abundant life, the results would be revolutionary. Some men, however, seem to believe that an abundant life for the multitude comes from a multiplicity of material things,

even though they know that their own pleasures do not come that way, that their greatest joy comes from an opportunity to create. It is remarkable, indeed, that their imaginations do not teach them that it is an opportunity for self-expression which most of us need.

A genuine and permanent democracy, whether in politics or in industry, must rest upon an educated group of workers supported by technicians whose chief pleasure comes from their ability to teach others less capable than themselves. Democracy will advance haltingly as long as the present attitude of technicians persists, the desire to use the ordinary worker for purely selfish ends.

In a genuine democracy each one of us must have the opportunity to share in making decisions as to the rules under which we live together and to solve the problems connected therewith. It is true that people are not born equal in all respects. It is also true that we are not all equally affected by favorable environment. But it does not follow that those who have greater capacities than others deserve greater material rewards.

Often when I have discussed the progress of the Columbia employees in production, in the earnings of the business and in the better understanding of the art of living together, I have been asked if they are not an exceptional group. I have replied that although they may be now, in the beginning they were not above the average American manual worker. In educational experience they probably did not average fourth grade. In the entire group there was but one high school graduate, with a very few who had had one or two years of high school. All but one had come from working class parents, from farms and from factories.

The one high school graduate was the most intelligent of the group. He had a really good mind. Unfortunately he was a complete individualist and entirely out of harmony with our ultimate goal.

Partly because of his disbelief in our program, he resigned a few months after the new government was inaugurated.

The treasurer of the company was an exceedingly selfish and irritable man, unresponsive to any of the finer motives of life. Though he professed approval of the change, he was fundamentally opposed to it. It was not long before he, too, withdrew to associate himself with a concern which had all of the vices and few of the virtues of the capitalistic system.

The two men I have just named and I made up the appointed members of the first governing body of our company, the Committee, as it was called. There were seven elected representatives from the factory. Four were very ordinary and quite dull workmen and workwomen. They could not understand our objective and found it impossible to grasp the problems of management which came before them. Of the three remaining members, one, a forewoman, was a fine co-operative spirit, of good courage, an excellent worker and very well liked by her associates. For many years before her marriage and motherhood she was very helpful, both in our technical and in our social program. The second, the foreman of the kitchen, was capable, with good judgment in most management problems, but extremely cautious. His sympathy was with the working class because he was of it, but he was acquisitive and an unconscious yet thorough believer in most of the tenets of capitalism. He was nervous, easily excited and not very helpful in our social discussions because of his conservatism. He had the desire to be generous and democratic and made great efforts to understand and approve of our new course, but he was the victim of his own prejudices and fears. He thought he wished to give up power over people, but in reality he gained pleasure from controlling them. The last member of the Committee was a very fine spirit in-

deed, a versatile but careless workman. He was in complete sympathy with the working class, and of his democratic spirit there was no doubt. His influence upon his associates was helpful. For a long time he was chairman of the Committee and exercised great influence and good judgment during his term of office.

CREATIVE WORK

It is not of paramount importance that the length of the working day in industry be very greatly reduced. By work I refer to that activity by means of which we increase our material well-being. What is necessary is not a great reduction in the number of hours of labor, but a great change in the condition of work so that every worker may get pleasure and instruction from his productive activities. The greatest tragedy of the industrial revolution is not long hours and low wages, but the withdrawal from most workers of all pleasure and education from their jobs. While the craftsman period gave less material results it furnished most workers with the same kind of opportunity for creative work that now only technicians get. Most of us spend half our adult waking life at work. Those of us who have had an opportunity to do stimulating and creative work know how far more educational it is than the school experiences which have preceded it. Educators understand that we learn most quickly and most lastingly by doing things. Industry must find a way by means of which our educational experiences will not cease at the door of the factory, but will be supported and broadened by our labor.

WORKING HOURS

The first discussion of the length of the working week occurred when I was not present in Committee. At that time, although it was withdrawn a year later, I had the power to veto acts of the Committee, though my veto power could be

overruled by a two-thirds vote. By action of the Committee, the working hours were reduced from fifty-five to fifty hours a week, but out of courtesy to me the decision was not to become effective until I had had an opportunity to discuss it with the Committee. When I pointed out certain facts with reference to our sales and to mechanical conditions within the plant the Committee postponed for a month the time when the new schedule was to become effective. Before the month elapsed our orders and machinery were in a much improved condition and the fifty-hour week was inaugurated with unanimous approval. During the peak load the length of the working week was increased to take care of additional demands on us and later reduced again. For the past ten years it has been changed many times, depending upon the demands of the period.

About seven years ago we began to experiment with the five-day week and nine-hour day. When this plan was suggested to Council it had very few supporters. After discussing the possibilities of the five-day week in two meetings we decided to put it to a test, with the understanding that should we find it uneconomic or inconvenient we would return to the five and a half day schedule. After a few weeks' trial the new plan was approved unanimously and we have maintained it ever since except during the peak load period from the latter part of August through the first half of October.

We made our first exception to the normal five-day week, except during the rush season, in November of the year 1927. When the usual peak load period was over that year we found ourselves facing a heavy accumulation of orders, with our warehouses empty and the stocks of our customers depleted. Although we had just passed through a heavy season, we voted to continue the long schedule until we had filled all orders, with the understanding that if we

did not catch up within a few weeks we would add to our working force to enable us to shorten the working hours. Within the month we were back on our regular schedule with no increase in the working force.

Hard work, in order to educate and stimulate, must have a creative element. The worker must realize its importance and understand how it contributes to the general welfare. He must also have the right to suggest how it should be done and to ask to be changed to other work if what he is doing fails to hold his interest. He should be changed frequently from one kind of work to another so as to avoid the deadening of the spirit which comes from repetitive work long continued. We have worked this out to a considerable extent at Columbia, and as time passes we hope to develop it still further.

The over-emphasis on brain work is not only bad for the individual, but bad for our industrial society. It has tended to establish two classes of workers quite out of sympathy one with the other. Office or brain workers look with pity and often contempt upon factory workers, believing that they occupy a higher social position than do manual workers.

Shortly after we changed our system of government, we ruled that hours of work should be the same for office workers as for factory workers. The Committee excepted me from this rule because it was their opinion that my work was so exacting as to require more rest than other employees. I refused to accept the decision as applied to me. I know from experience that brain work, no matter how difficult it may be, is not as fatiguing as hard manual labor. As a result of the new ruling as to hours, there are times when office employees put on overalls and work out in the plant. We are no longer class-conscious but are rapidly learning that we are all of one kind.

THE PROBLEM OF IRREGULAR EMPLOYMENT

Of as great if not greater importance to the average worker than his weekly income is the regularity of his employment. In the long run it is his yearly income and not his daily, piece or hourly rate which matters to him.

In the Committee in 1917, one of the factory workers asked me why it was that only a few of our employees were paid by the week and retained by the year, irrespective of the activities of the business, while almost all the workers, including himself, were paid by the hour and retained only as long as their time could be fully occupied. He asked me if wage workers were less affected by their insecurity than I would be in the same predicament. He asked if I had more concern for the needs of my family than he had for his and what the reason was for the present system of special privileges for a few and ruthlessness to the majority. Was such a situation democratic or conducive to the solution and development of a self-governing society in our plant or elsewhere? This workman did not formulate his questions quite as I have done, but I think I have expressed in part both his words and thoughts. How was I, who had professed faith in the democratic life and who had promised that Columbia workers should have it if they desired it, to answer him?

Obviously, there was only one of two things for us to do. Either all of us should be paid wages and take the same chances of irregularity of employment, or all of us, as soon as possible, should be placed on salary and thus be assured of regular incomes. Naturally those of us who had been sheltered during our working lives were not eager to subject ourselves to the mercy of the business cycle or, in other words, to accept a reduction in or a complete stoppage of income during periods of inactivity. On

the other hand, those who were accustomed to being discharged during periods of inactivity were not anxious to continue in such a situation.

We finally agreed that our first responsibility thereafter should be regularity of employment, and that we should forthwith take some steps toward that goal. Accordingly, we placed most of the wage force on a salary basis with the understanding that they would be retained by the year, except in cases of bad behavior or until this plan proved to be of too great a weight for the business to carry. Since then, except in the cases of three persons, no salaried workers have ever been discharged because of the inactivity of the business. In my judgment, should the time ever arrive when, to maintain our position with regard to regularity of employment the company itself would be endangered, I believe even then no one would be discharged, but that we would all share alike in a general reduction of income. In a very recent discussion of our pension plan this attitude was clearly expressed. From our decision with regard to regularity of employment it naturally followed that we should insure ourselves against loss of income due to sickness and accident. It has been some years now since the income of any salaried employee of The Columbia Conserve Company has been reduced for any cause whatsoever.

Most business men with whom I have discussed this protective policy have contended that it is impracticable and too great a strain on any business. Probably it is true that the average business which is doomed to ultimate failure would fail much sooner if forced to bear the cost of full time employment. Really successful enterprises, large and small, should be able to bear it as we have done. The organization that discharges its employees at every recession in activity is parasitical. Such employees must be supported, either by their own savings or by charity.

The quicker such enterprises fail the better, thus leaving the field of production to those businesses which are managed well enough to bear the responsibilities which are theirs.

Can anyone reasonably contend that it is not the responsibility of each industry to protect its workers? And cannot the efficient industries do this? What would be the effect upon the business cycle if Big Business accepted this responsibility? It is ridiculous to contend that it cannot be done until it is tried and found impracticable.

We feel keenly our obligation toward this group of unprotected workers and we take them into the protected salary class as rapidly as we think it reasonably safe to do so. It is our custom to consider each wage worker for a salaried position after he has served an apprenticeship of six months or less. In many cases the length of apprenticeship is very short. Occasionally we place workers on our salaried payroll immediately. This is always done when they come to us from a distance bearing satisfactory recommendations. We also pay all the expense of moving to Indianapolis. Few workers, especially those with families, are able to move to a new place without incurring a debt from which it may take them a long time to free themselves. A worker who is burdened with debt cannot work as effectively as one whose mind is free from that worry. We have steadily strengthened in our belief that the company should do everything in its power to relieve the individual employee of worries which he has not the strength to bear alone. We do not take this position merely out of sympathy toward our associates, but because we wish them to be in the most efficient condition to perform their work. We try not to pamper anyone and I believe we have not done so to any harmful extent. It interests me to hear "red-blooded" employers denounce this practice as sentimental and destruc-

tive of the moral fibre of a worker and to note how warmly such employers defend what they are pleased to call the law of the survival of the fittest. But when I inquire if they apply that law to their own children they stare at me in amazement and indignation. Imagine what would happen if that law were applied to the children of the rich!

I have been asked repeatedly if the protection we give our salaried workers against unemployment and sickness can be given to all workers in industry. I do not feel competent to answer that question. One thing, however, seems perfectly obvious, and that is that it cannot be done until a determined effort is made to that end. There is nothing in industry which is so necessary of solution as unemployment. Fortunately some industrialists and many economists understand that unemployment is remediable and that without doubt it will eventually be largely done away with. Certainly no intelligent person will contend that unemployment is an act of God or of nature. It is simply a maladjustment of human relations and can be changed if we approach it seriously enough.

THE QUESTION OF INCOME

The question of income has been a very perplexing one for us. At first we all accepted without question the competitive formula that income should be determined by the capacity of the worker. During those early days of our experiment in self-government, the entire force except the technicians was classified and a definite salary rate given to each class. Salaries of technicians were determined individually. At one time we spent over a year in an attempt to find a scale by means of which we could more clearly determine the contribution of the employee to the business and thus estimate more exactly what his income should be. As we discussed the problem month after month, year after year, one conclusion

slowly took shape: we could never agree as to the efficiency of A compared with that of B. We might agree that A was a greater asset to the business than B but the exact difference in value was impossible to measure. Finally a committee of the most able men and women in the plant was chosen to give this problem serious study and to suggest any plan which seemed to them most satisfactory. After some hard and earnest thought and work they returned to Council with the conclusion that no satisfactory agreement could be reached on the basis of efficiency. They had found they could not agree among themselves as to the relative value of A and B. Still, neither the Committee nor Council was quite ready to accept the only method of payment of incomes compatible with a democratic way of life. We had been approaching this conclusion slowly and perhaps unconsciously, but again and again we shied away from facing the inevitable.

When we finally placed most of our force on salary, thus assuring them of full time employment, we laid the cornerstone of a new philosophy. As we added the minimum wage, the 50 per cent increase for married employees, the additional amount for children, long vacations with full pay, partial, and later complete medical, dental and hospital care at the expense of the company, and old-age pensions, we laid the foundation of the new system. In the early part of 1929, after the Committee had reported its complete inability to find a satisfactory method of payment based on comparative merits, Council reviewed its whole experience with the problem and agreed unanimously that payment of salaries on the basis of need should henceforth be our method. There is in my judgment no other really satisfactory conclusion which a group of free and democratic people can reach. I do not agree that incomes should be equal. Individuals have such different needs that one person must

draw more from the total income pool than another in order to permit the greatest development of his particular personality. A system based on need does not permit of variation of incomes because of the variations in personalities.

When we agreed that our incomes should be based on needs we classified them as follows: food, clothing, shelter, health, education, recreation.

We believe that everyone should have as much as another of food, clothing and shelter.

As much of the total income as may be necessary should be used to preserve and improve the health of each individual.

The amount of income to be apportioned for education must, to a large extent, be determined by the desires of the individual. This is also true of recreation. But both are, of course, subject to check by the group.

As soon as we adopted the new philosophy, it became evident that a group could not intelligently decide the needs of an individual without consulting him and, in a large measure, accepting the latter's conclusion. A committee was appointed to discuss with any employee who felt his income was not sufficient to meet his needs the subject of what he believed he should receive from the common pool, from our total salary budget. Five men and one woman applied immediately for additional income. Each case was heard in detail and the committee reached the conclusion that the request of each applicant was justifiable. Accordingly they recommended favorable action by the Council. Each case was again discussed in Council and four were finally approved without change.

One of the younger women had asked for an increase of \$3.00 which the committee approved. After considerable discussion the committee's recommendation was disapproved by Council because in its judgment the additional amount was insufficient to cover the needs of the em-

ployee under discussion. This employee had recently become almost the sole support of her parents and Council felt that \$8.00 per week additional would more nearly cover her needs than the amount she had originally asked for. The employee was granted an increase of \$8.00 per week to cover her needs.

In the case of the other whose request was approved by the committee and disapproved by Council it was learned that his reason for requesting additional income was because he wished to repay his father for a debt contracted for college expenses. Council was sympathetic with his desire to pay his debt, but because he was on the sales force and entitled to an allowance of \$6.00 per day for his expenses, exclusive of transportation, Council felt that he could, if he would make a consistent effort, save enough out of that allowance to repay the loan in the course of a few months. The young man listened to the discussion of his case and finally arose and asked that his request for assistance be withdrawn. It was my impression that he did this, not because he was disturbed by the trend of the discussion, but because he had come to the conclusion that he was not entitled to the assistance he had requested.

Payment on the basis of need is less difficult than it will appear to those who have not tried it. It is obvious that when an individual is encouraged to present his own case and is greeted not only with sympathy but with genuine eagerness to meet his wishes, the problem becomes only one of safeguarding the group against unfair demands by individuals. This problem grows steadily less as the company assumes unusual and incalculable expenses such as those for sickness, old age and unusual recreational opportunities. We now assume all the expenses of our employees for the treatment of bodily ailments of every kind and are also assuming such expenses for their dependents. Recently the company sent one of its employees on a two months'

trip to Europe so that she might have an experience which had become a real need for her, both physically and spiritually.

As the democratic way of life in The Columbia Conserve Company broadens and deepens we shall help each other to opportunities which will increase our joy in living. We have already found our way to freedom and by a constant and courageous search for truth we shall find our way to a better understanding of each other.

SOCIAL EQUALITY AMONG WORKERS

When the first step was taken toward changing from the wage to the salary system and the length of the working week was decided upon in Committee, there arose for decision the difference between the hours of labor for workers in the office and for those in the factory. It was decided that all employees should begin work at the same time and stop at the same time.

When this rule became effective there was considerable disturbance. After a time some of the less important office employees resigned. A few of the stenographers thought their social status was unfavorably affected by beginning and ending their day's work at the same time as their sisters in the plant and they withdrew. For a time we sought to replace them with trained stenographers, but their experiences elsewhere had taught them to believe that office workers were above factory workers socially and that they were accordingly entitled to certain privileges. Consequently they broke under what they chose to believe to be the "disgrace" of our leveling process. Then we decided to develop our own stenographers from among the girls in the plant. By following this process we have completely equalized the two fields, both socially and financially. It is not necessary to do this now as stenographers who come to us from other industries understand in advance the system under which they will be asked to work.

Perhaps the most unusual and interesting experiment was when we called for volunteers from the plant to be trained as bookkeepers and accountants. The first worker we experimented with in this way is now treasurer of the company. His assistants were once manual workers in the plant. In other departments we are developing our technicians from among the manual workers. This is a slower process than to engage trained workers, but we believe it is necessary in order to strengthen our democratic system. We have achieved a rather complete social equality, as may be observed during working hours in the relation of the workers to the foremen, during non-working hours in the dining room, library and rest rooms and especially at Council during dinners and meetings. A Pennsylvania coal miner who entered our employ several years ago remarked that it was three months before he knew who his boss was!

DISCIPLINE

What effect has this on discipline? Do equality and familiarity breed contempt? Just as security of employment has not bred soldiering, so social equality does not weaken discipline but strengthens it. I do not mean to say that there have been no cases of insubordination, but such cases have been scattered and temporary, except in one instance.

Early in 1927 it became evident that seven or eight employees, several of them of some years' standing and apparently looking upon their jobs as secure, were disagreeable to their foremen and inefficient. The situation was discussed several times in Council without visible effect upon the offenders. The power to discharge salaried employees rests solely with Council, but in these specific cases Council showed that it lacked the resolution to act. The chief reasons were: first, several of the malcontents had been with us a long time and, second, if such a step were taken the end could not be fore-

told and the outcome might be serious. The very hardest thing a self-governing plant has to do is to discharge a member for bad spirit.

When it became apparent that Council disliked to take such drastic action a motion was made that a smaller committee be appointed to review the conduct and attitude of every worker, with power to discharge any employee whose spirit was found to be bad. At first there was not even a second to this motion. Many approved of the formation of such a committee, with power of review but with only advisory power of discharge. That restriction, in the judgment of the framer of the motion would defeat its very purpose. Accordingly the motion was withdrawn for the time being. At the next meeting the motion was made again and carried by a very large majority.

A committee was elected. After many hours it finally brought to Council its decision. Eight employees were discharged. In so far as I am aware there was no unfavorable criticism of this action by the other workers. Those retained knew that the discharged employees merited their punishment. It was generally believed that we had been patient with them too long, that we had tried hard to reform them and, having failed to do so, there was no other course open to us than to let them go.

SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE

The most important protective measures for workers in industry are those against unemployment, sickness and accident. Ultimately, these protections must be afforded by some form of state insurance, although it is possible that more private companies will eventually experiment with their own plans as we have done. It is ridiculous to say that it cannot be done by other companies. If we can do it, certainly a great organization such as the United States Steel Corporation, or others I might mention, can do it for the majority, if not all, of its

employees. We are a group of about 150 workers banded together and working for our common welfare. When one of us is unable to handle his own economic burdens the rest help him to bear them. Each one of us knows that if and when the same situation arises for himself there will be a hundred or more loyal friends back of him ready and willing to lend a helping hand. What would happen if the United States Steel Corporation should offer this same protection? To say that it cannot be done is obviously untrue. There was a time when that company insisted it could not work less than twelve hours per day. The time will surely come when it will be found necessary and desirable to insure workers against unemployment, sickness and accident.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

In 1927 Columbia took up seriously the protection of its employees when they should no longer be able to work. The matter had been discussed from time to time, but no decision had been reached. Our first thought had been to enter into some kind of pension plan with an insurance company. We finally decided to follow a different course which we believed better adapted to a society such as ours.

As our first case we had one of our oldest employees, a man of 72 years, who, about two years before, had become too frail to work at all. For some time before that he had been able to do only the lightest kind of work, but as long as he could report for work at all we found something for him to do, paying him his regular salary every week. Few of us believe that a worker who is unable to do as much work as he once could should be pensioned and not permitted to work at all. Each of us realizes, the older workers most keenly, the effect that idleness has upon most of us. We do not wish idleness for ourselves, even though we are paid, and we are not willing to

force it on our associates. When it became clear to us that this worker could no longer do even the lightest sort of work we were confronted with our first real problem of old age.

In our discussions it was quite clear that every member of Council wished to afford their old friend protection during the balance of his life. The amount of this protection was the only thing to be decided. It was known that he was a single man, that he had lived very simply and that he had been able to save some money. Among other things he owned considerable stock in the Company. The discussion finally centered itself entirely on whether or not his income from outside sources should be considered in arriving at what he should be paid. There was a sharp difference of opinion over this point. The majority took the stand that payment of an old age pension, or, as we prefer to call it, salary to our superannuated workers, should be based strictly on the need of the worker. Thus it would be necessary to consider income from outside sources. The minority believed that outside income should not affect the amount of pension. If outside income was allowed to enter into it this might mean less thrift on the part of the worker. Knowing that he was to be taken care of by his fellows in his old age he would be less likely to save. The answer to this argument was that in industry in general a worker's effort to insure his old age might lessen if he knew in advance that he was to be cared for, but that in a society like ours each really co-operative worker, which in theory is the only kind we are supposed to have, would make a very determined effort to save in order to decrease the burden placed on his associates. Pension according to need was unanimously voted.

A committee was appointed to confer with the old worker about his needs. He reported that his income aside from the salary he had been receiving was about \$600 a year. He said he thought he

could live on that income but would feel perfectly safe if we would pay him a salary of \$8.00 per week. Council unanimously acceded to his request.

How successful we shall be in the years to come in maintaining our protection against unemployment, accident, sickness and old age no one can foretell. It will all depend upon our efficiency and our co-operative spirit. Should the time ever come when we cannot take care of the needs of such employees out of the reserves we shall set up for this purpose and out of current income, I believe we shall all be willing to reduce our own salaries in order to make up the deficit. If we are not willing to do so we shall have failed in the final test of the democratic way of life.

CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Two years ago it became evident that Columbia workers needed another influence than that which they were getting through self-government. They needed a cultural educational program to strengthen and safeguard their democratic experience and to help them understand the implications of the new kind of life they were leading. We decided to start an educational department to deal with the social sciences, beginning with economics and the history of the labor movement.

In November, 1926, we made our first start toward offering our employees information on certain subjects which they had not had the opportunity to study during their school life. The chief difficulty was to arouse interest on the part of the workers in this educational opportunity. The classes were held outside of working hours and most of the workers were too tired to apply themselves to a new undertaking following the regular day's work. It was difficult, also, for them to understand how the information they were acquiring in classes would assist them in business. Our educational effort was continued for several

months but was finally dropped, partly because of the lack of interest on the part of the employees and partly because our teacher was called upon to do other work which reduced the amount of time he could devote to classes.

We have made another effort toward an educational program, which thus far has been limited to the younger girls in the office. Their instruction has been carried on during working hours, eliminating one of the difficulties which applied to the first experiment. The subject studied is English, with particular reference, in the beginning, to grammar and punctuation. I hope that the result will be deemed important enough to have any additional educational program which may be decided upon carried on during business hours. It is too much to expect employees who work hard all day to study at night. The chief educational opportunity with us now is the work in Council. This probably will continue to be so indefinitely. A vast number of difficult problems are handled, but it is my conviction that they could be handled with more effectiveness if supplemented by other educational experiences.

CONCLUSION

We are believers in democracy—in the right of each human being to participate in the important activities which mold his life, to make the laws which usually govern his conduct, or to delegate such power to others of his own choosing. We began to apply this faith in democracy to our own business in 1917 and we have the following results to relate:

Our business is controlled completely by our workers, the ownership of stock giving its possessor no more rights than those workers who possess little or no stock. As many of us as may wish to do so sit in council to make the laws of our business and to determine its policies. There is no longer any fear of unemployment among those of us who have served an apprenticeship and who have been accepted as satisfactory by our fellows. We

are paid by the week and retained by the year. We can be discharged only by vote of our associates. No deductions, except by explicit action of Council, may be made from our weekly checks. We are paid when we are sick, and in our old age we receive pensions sufficient to give us the comforts of life. These pensions vary with our needs and not because of our position with the Company. We receive complete medical and hospital care without cost to us individually. Each one of us who has been with the Company for twelve months is given a vacation of three weeks with full pay. For eight months' service we receive two weeks and for four months' service one week.

We believe in payment on the basis of need rather than on the basis of efficiency. It is our belief that, in a democratic society, not only is liberty fundamental to the existence of such a society, but approximate equality of income is essential to the development of that fraternity without which democracy is a creed and not a manner of living.

Under the form of government which we have described, our business has increased in volume, in profits and in standing with our customers. Most of us have progressed in the knowledge of our own special work and in the business problems with which all manufacturing concerns have to deal—production, sales, finance. Individually our incomes have increased, our education has been broadened by the social as well as by the business problems with which we are faced and most of us are happier than we would be in a less democratic society.

Soon, out of the profits of the business, we shall own all its common stock. When that time arrives, it is our belief that we shall not only take entire care of ourselves, as we do now, without seeking help from other citizens, but that we shall be able to assist other workers who may desire our aid, to build similar democratic societies.

Psychiatry's Contribution to Human Welfare*

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ONE HARDLY KNOWS where to begin in touching upon the numerous aspects of the effect of unemployment on the individual. The most obvious results are to be found in statistical evidence of an increase in mental breakdowns recorded by psychiatric hospital admissions throughout the country. You have all read this evidence. For example, in November, 1930, the commissioner of hospitals in this city reported "an abnormal increase in admissions to institutions caring for mental cases in New York City," which he attributed entirely to the economic situation. It was stated that 2,508 more patients were admitted to the Psychopathic Division at Bellevue Hospital alone during the first six months of 1930 than during the first six months of 1928, which was considered a normal year.

It is becoming a commonplace of daily life in every community to hear that whole families of parents and children are wiped out by father or mother under the influence of panic and apprehension over disaster that may actually be impending, or may be delusional material produced by a mind whose balance is overstrained by the pressure of community reactions to hard times. The first to break in such periods of national anxiety and bewilderment and agonizing struggle for food and shelter are those whose constitutional

endowment predisposes them to bend and break under even minor strains. The layman naturally looks for these constitutionally handicapped among the classes of society most hit by the financial crisis, individuals who, even in better times, are always at or below the poverty line, individuals who constitute the group of unskilled and drifting labor. This is by no means always true. Poor constitutional endowment of mental health is equally common in every walk of life and bears comparatively little relation to the intellectual equipment of the individual. Witness the terrible toll of suicides among the business and professional people occupying responsible positions. Why is it that this broker or banker attempts his life and thousands of others bearing even greater strains of responsibility carry on? The answer, in every instance, is to be found in the personality organization of the individual in question. He acts as he acts by virtue of the combination of constitutional endowment plus strains put upon that endowment. This is a point that is accepted in a discussion of theory, but often forgotten by the clergy in their dealings with concrete human beings in distress. At what point are the moods of depression, the self-accusations, the ideas of failure, the feelings of guilt, the consciousness of inadequacy, matters that can be handled by the church through faith and prayer, and at what point are these conditions indications of pathological mental health which call for the attention of psychiatry to prevent casual-

*A paper given at the Middle Atlantic Area Regional Conference of the Religious Education Association, in the Riverside Community Church, New York City, January 26-27. The conference considered "The Social and Ethical Consequences of Unemployment."

ties? There is no rule of thumb to show the boundary line. The psychiatrically intelligent clergyman alone can sense when he is beyond his depth, but alas! this group is all too small. There is probably not a person in this room who cannot call to mind from the circle of his own experience a situation to match the following:

The president of a bank is recorded a few weeks ago as killing his wife, four children and himself in the early morning hours. Officials found his bank in good condition. Investigation of events leading up to this tragedy revealed the fact that this man had been getting depressed for the past three or four months. He lost weight, slept poorly, talked about nothing but bad times and the drought. From this he went on to a stage in which he thought God had deserted him, that his soul was lost. He finally came to believe that all the money of his depositors was in jeopardy. He could not make a decision in business matters. He expressed the belief that he and his family were to be turned out of their home and would starve. He killed them to avoid this imaginary disaster. The family doctor, recognizing his condition as a definite mental disorder, urged his wife to take him to a psychiatric hospital. Her pastor opposed it, telling her that he had handled many such conditions and that, in exposing her husband to a psychiatrist, she ran the risk of pagan influences detrimental to his spiritual life. Every day the pastor prayed with this man, walked the floor with him and spent hours trying to reason with a person wholly unable to take part in even the simplest reasoning processes pertaining to any personal matter. This man might quite likely have broken down in ordinary times under the strain of a real financial disaster or the serious illness or death of wife or child. At this time he broke under the oppressive nature of our times.

The treatment of his pastor was the worst possible ministration to his particular needs.

Religious education in its essence must concern itself with a study of individual needs in more than one dimension. Psychology has been called the study of individual differences. Biology emphasizes the great variations in organic structure and functioning. The Bible tells us of one talent, two talent and five talent endowments. Yet with all nature and human nature crying out this story of individual differences, we struggle and almost perish trying to treat all people alike, looking impatiently for immediate changes and quick panaceas.

The effect of periods of dependence upon attitudes of group mind has been the subject of a great deal of observation and speculation. Empires have fallen because of hunger and suffering. Palliative measures of "corn and shows" and the more modern "dole" suffice for a century or two to keep the peace. But eventually something happens which at first we call a revolution. Then, when things seem started again on a different economic basis, we say there has been an evolution. Until the birth of psychology we studied these problems of social relationship from the standpoint of economics, which deals with static states of market price, capital and labor, exchange values, forms of government. These things are instruments that attempt to measure efficiency in the production of goods, the delivery of services, the establishment and maintenance of law, more or less detached from any thought about their influence in the evolution of human life. Human life is dynamic, not static, and it would seem reasonable to examine the human being who produces and serves and legislates, instead of juggling with the instruments of his production and see if a study of behavior fundamentals has anything to contribute

to the establishment of some sort of standards of human values which have practical use in social problems. This is what psychology and psychiatry and social case work have been trying to do under the guidance of Dewey and MacDougal and Meyer and Stanley Hall. From their studies we have a right to draw certain conclusions. Man is born into the world with numerous fixed and inborn tendencies to action that are amenable, within limits, to the environmental influences of early training, the mental discipline of formal education, physical endowment, religious and social factors. He differs in his equipment of intellectual endowment, of impulse and instinct tendencies, of powers for the acquisition of habit, and it is absolutely necessary that we not only realize these facts but that we put them to practical use if we are to do any clear and purposeful thinking about the social problems of any period of civilization.

The late Carlton Parker, dean of the School of Business Administration, Washington University, and noted for his successful handling of western labor unrest some dozen years ago, wrote as follows in a remarkable paper on "Motives in Economic Life":

We economists speculate little on human motives. We are not curious about the great basis of fact which dynamic and behavioristic psychology has gathered to illustrate the instinct stimulus to human activity. Most of us are not interested to think of what a psychologically full or satisfactory life is. The motives to social activity which have done major service in orthodox teaching have been either the vague middle-class virtues of thrift and justice, or the equally vague moral sentiments of striving for the welfare of others and desire for expression of the larger self, etc. All this gentle parody in motive theorizing continues contemporaneously with the output of the rich literature of social and behavioristic psychology which is addressed almost entirely to this very problem of human motives in modern society.

It is with motives and casual trends in human activity and relationships that social case work aims to deal, studying definite situations and reactions and the

relation of capacity to ambitions and many other distinctive traits that bear so vitally upon the management of personal life problems. Why cannot this able-bodied, willing man hold a job? Or why does this mother not follow the simple directions of the nutritional clinic in feeding her child? And why is this family with adequate wage income always at or below the poverty line? In trying to answer these questions, social case work has developed certain procedures of examination involving the physical and intellectual stuff out of which these individuals are made, the story of their life-long habits of adaptation to work and family relationships and ability to get along with the social group of environment. This deserting and delinquent husband may be an industrial misfit because he has not the capacity to fill jobs presented to him. Or this family in chronic poor health and poverty may represent the strain of adult responsibilities thrust upon two child-growups. For example, of the 141 men and women referred to the Psychiatric Dispensary of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for chronic dependence during one year, 65 per cent were found to have a mentality less than that of a ten-year-old child. Nagged at and misunderstood at home, prodded and pushed and ridiculed in school because of "dumbness," they were launched upon the world of competitive wage earning without a single wholesome habit response or bit of guidance to help them in vocational adjustment. Holding a job not over six months, they lost it through an explosion of temper or a gross exhibition of poor judgment. Marriage and children added to their hopeless floundering. The place to tackle such common or garden variety of social problems is in childhood. And social case work in its child placing and child guidance and juvenile court is campaigning in behalf of the child to see that he gets a good start in life.

It seems to me that any discussion of the effects of unemployment on the individual must include not only the acute states through which we are now passing, but also far deeper problems associated with employment in so-called normal times. Both of these aspects call for a definite sense of responsibility on the part of communities. In times such as these we rise to the emergency as we do in war and try to work out ways and means of providing food and shelter and clothing. Equally important with the administration of relief is attention to the state of mind of those needing help. In the press and hurry of supplying concrete necessities we have little time to inquire into the state of mind of those whom we are trying to keep alive. It is a very important matter. In our philosophizing moments we are thinking a great deal about the quest of certainty, feelings of insecurity, consciousness of inadequacies. In the midst of our lives sustained with comforts, we drift into meditation about the worthwhileness of what we are doing and worry over the future of our children and the changing world they will be called upon to meet in another decade or two. What apprehensiveness must prey upon the minds of fathers and mothers who face acute insecurities having to do with sustaining the bodily health of their families, with the education of their children, with provision for their own old age. Homes which they have struggled to buy slip through their fingers for the want of ability to keep up payments; the savings of a lifetime disappear in bank failures. Pride comes in and forbids the disclosure of dire need. A teacher told me of noting the continual absence of two children from her class. She asked a playmate about them. "My mother says you had better go and see for yourself why they don't come." The teacher went to a house in the neighborhood that looked comfortable on the outside. In-

side it was practically devoid of furniture, sold piece by piece to buy food. "Have you anything of value left at all?" she asked. "Yes," said the mother, "I have something I value, but the world does not." Going into an adjourning room she brought out her college diploma framed. The father, an accountant, had lost a job he had held for fifteen years. A building-loan association was about to foreclose on the house that needed only one thousand dollars to be paid for.

Our accident service sent to our psychiatric dispensary the other morning the mother of two children who had attempted suicide by poison. Her husband died a year ago and she had been trying to carry on—working in factories a day or two at a time, following the canning season with her children in the country. There was no canning this fall; the factory scarcely ran; she had fifty dollars of her husband's insurance left. "Why did you not go to the Family Welfare Association?" "I heard they take your children away from you and you never see them again."

The following are the diagnostic summaries of a morning's dispensary admissions in our Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic:

William K., aged 62, single. Methodist—supported self in unskilled labor till arteriosclerotic heart condition made work impossible—depressed, tearful, one suicidal attempt. Not a cent in the world. No relatives—Committed to City Psychopathic Hospital.

Frank F., 45, single, Lutheran, steady worker at unskilled labor till summer 1930 Complains of "dizziness, lump in throat, weakness"—marked secondary anemia and undernutrition, has walked streets, eaten an occasional sandwich. Sent to Shelter for Homeless Men.

Pearl D., aged 33, Methodist, referred by Family Welfare Association with complaint of "nerves." Mother of six children who is bending and breaking beneath the strain of her husband dying of cancer, and an acute financial strain. Children running wild. Intelligence age of 8½ years. Undernourished—will not co-operate in plans for placing children temporarily or sending husband to hospital. Development of psychosis with self-destructive impulses imminent.

Emma H., widow, senile tremors, poor sleep, and a natural amount of worry in a woman

who finds herself dependent at 60 and physically incapacitated in providing for her old age.

Here are men and women of varying ages who are getting relief and will be succored by some community institution, but they are in a very poor state of mental health. They are referred to us because their mental state of distress is so obvious as to flag the attention of those ministering to their necessities. We do not see the hundreds of others who so cover up their distress of mind as to be inconspicuous in the crowds who go daily to sources of economic relief. There is nothing in their lives to occupy their attention and absorb the hours of unemployment and compete with the bitterness and fear and discouragement and hopelessness of every waking moment. As this depression settles down upon us, we shall probably, in the course of time, develop this side of our ministrations to the unemployed.

The Lloyd Committee in Philadelphia has recently started such an activity as part of its shelter work for homeless men. Twenty-six hundred of them are housed and fed in one of the buildings of the Baldwin Locomotive Works on 18th Street. The top floor of this building is a recreation center with books, magazines, newspapers, shuffle boards, cards, checkers, volley ball and punch bags. It is open from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M., and is under the direction of Mr. English who heads Philadelphia's public athletic work. As far as possible employment, even for a few hours a day, is found for the men, but during their unemployed time they are given something to take their attention and fill up the time. During the first day the center was open 1,400 men used this recreation floor. While there is no organized recreation, Mr. English and his assistants are always on hand to referee a game, to sit and chat and otherwise spread the realization of their personal interest. It is along such lines that we can work most constructively during a

time that is so perilous to the human spirit. Religious education has now a great opportunity to get next to men and woman whose stream of life is at its lowest ebb. The radical and fanatic realize the importance of this period and utilize it to transform discouragement and hopelessness into bitterness and hatred and antagonism fanned to the white heat of violent outbursts far-reaching in their effects upon the future. Men must have something to live by as well as live on. What are we giving them?

Mr. English was telling me a story about one of the homeless men at their Shelter in Philadelphia, who said to him, "I don't seem to find a Bible among the books you get together for us, Boss." Mr. English looked and sure enough there was no Bible. "That's true, Jim, there isn't any, but I'll see that you get one right away." And Jim replied, "Better get more than one. I know a lot of fellows who've been looking for it besides me. The other books are all right, but the Bible is mighty comforting reading sometimes." To the physician who spends his time attempting to reassemble the parts of human beings who bend and break beneath the strains of life, there comes an increasing consciousness of the fact that there is something lacking in the world around us that we can use reconstructively. Human beings need, as Jim says, something comforting to live by and are at loss where to find it. The scientific approach to arriving at a philosophy of life may fire the imagination and inspire initiative, but it is not particularly conducive to comforting the spirit. Zeal for reforming conduct and generating political panaceas cannot replace the emotions supplied by a faith in something of the present or future. Truths clothed in tradition and dogma may outgrow their garments, but they can never outgrow their usefulness in the daily lives of men and women.

One of the most pitiful spectacles of

our times is that of men and women with backgrounds of college degrees and social position and professional status attempting to drown these needs in wild orgies of organic excitements. Not long ago I was talking with a university professor and expressed my surprise that a man with his intellectual assets could get pleasure and satisfaction out of a weekly party in which a group of professional and business men and their wives meet and drink and carouse till the small hours of the morning. He replied, "Well, I just have to relax. I get so fed up with life that something in me requires diversion." Was he fed up with life or with his own inability to get anything out of life? A great deal of good medical time is wasted on the domestic and adolescent problems of these same men and women. They want psychiatry to tell them what to do to develop a greater sense of responsibility in their preparatory school and college progeny and they go away sorrowing when the great source of this irresponsibility is pointed out to them.

Religious education in the past dealt with the development of individual responsibility. Perhaps too much emphasis was placed on responsibility for self here and hereafter as expressed by the story of a prayer arising from a New England fireside—"Dear Lord, bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife; us four and no more." The narrow range of the sense of responsibility attributed to those times was no fault of religious principles but of the human interpretation of those principles. The pendulum has swung in the other direction and we are thinking in terms of group responsibilities to the degree of three hundred million dollars contributed from private sources for public welfare in the United States last year. This year the figures will be at least doubled. Financially we are recognizing that we are our brother's keeper, but there are broader aspects of this recognition than financial. In this state of acute depre-

sion we shall eventually rise to a consideration of the personality needs of the unemployed, arranging for the absorption of their hours of idleness with programs suited to their needs. Hand in hand with facilities for recreation and diversion must go the friendliness of personal contacts that give opportunities to talk things over and listen to the outpouring of troubled minds. Ventilative discussion with a sympathetic listener is of immeasurable value to a human being.

After this present crisis is over and we settle back into what our economist friends call normalcy, and the need for financial assistance declines, it is most important that our interest in group responsibilities should not decline also and allow us to drift once more into a more or less casual attitude toward this matter of the livelihood of the other fellow. It is so easy to think off the surface of our minds about cut and dried recipes to wipe out something we call "social conditions." Every four years the Republican Party tells us that their election and a high tariff will make us all prosperous. The Democratic Party promises likewise with a low tariff. Again we hear that if Capital did so and so, Labor would do so and so; if wages were only adjusted according to this theory or that, there would be no poverty or slums breeding disease.

It was indeed a great achievement to arouse community conscience to the evils of venereal disease, the corner saloon, the sweat shop, labor conditions of women and children, non-living wage scales, inadequate health protection in industry. But the economic view is only one aspect of such distressing conditions. Abolishing licensed vice does not teach man to manage his sex instincts any better; nor has the passing of the corner saloon had any appreciable effect on chronic poverty or the reduction of crime. Legislation is not an instrument that plays any great rôle in modifying a state of mind. If we really wanted to make our nation temper-

ate, or to control the racketeer, or to make it impossible for the strong to prey upon the weak, or to see that war is economically unprofitable, we could do so as easily as we stamp out an epidemic of typhoid fever or infantile paralysis. In stamping out an epidemic we all work together in the campaign outlined by science because we realize that it is a life and death matter. The health of all sorts and conditions of men is capable of affecting our health, but other aspects of their welfare do not seem so jeopardizing to us; hence their relegation to a talking and legislative level instead of to an acting level in our individual and group thinking. For example, the bulk of unskilled and drifting labor and the inhabitants of penal and correctional institutions and the clients of welfare agencies are largely recruited from that 25 per cent of public school children who are never able to get beyond the second, third, fourth or fifth grades because of inability to grasp ordinary grade work. With bodies growing up through adolescence, maturity and middle age, and intellects never develop-

ing beyond those of nine to twelve years, we thrust these child-growups out into the world to meet or fall before its responsibilities of self-support, family formation and the withstandng of all the organic and psychological stimulations so characteristic of our high-powered civilization. What kind of educational training will give these limited constitutional endowments their best chance to develop what Carlton Parker has called "a psychologically full and satisfactory life?" We do not know. Until very recently we have not forced education to pay attention to this matter. Yet the behavioristic sciences have accumulated a great deal of information about the educational possibilities of these children. Communities are not interested in putting it into application.

Here is merely one aspect of human welfare about which we need to assume a sense of responsibility and concerning which we have to take a vital interest if we are to study intelligently the unemployment question of tomorrow as well as that of today.



Economic Factors in the Problem of Unemployment*

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IT IS DESIRABLE at the outset to define the term which forms the central theme of this conference. There are several kinds of unemployment and it is necessary to distinguish these if the utmost progress is to be made in thinking about the general problem. The first type, which is arousing such widespread public interest at present and which, I fear, too many people think is the only kind, is *cyclical unemployment*. At irregular intervals economic depressions sweep in and inundate us and there is general lack of work which forces emergency organization and public relief. When business revives, public interest disappears but unemployment does not, for it is an ever-present characteristic of modern life. A source of one of these constant forms of unemployment is the almost ceaseless improvement in methods of production; changes in methods and in machinery enable the business man to perform the same work with less human assistance and workers are displaced and forced to obtain other jobs, when, as and if, they can. To this type we apply the term *technological unemployment*. Then again, business activity slumps at certain periods of the year due to climatic changes or social customs; thus, in the summer season, the candy industry is dull and workers are laid off, giving rise to

seasonal unemployment. Finally, there is *reserve unemployment* which results from the fact that in our planless system of production there are reserve supplies of labor in our industries in excess of peak seasonal and prosperity requirements.

The complexities of the problem of cyclical unemployment are brought home by putting the apparently simple question: What is the business cycle? Some people deny its very existence. My only comment on that attitude is that either it is a matter of terminology or we are forced into the position of the Irishman who, when he looked at the hippopotamus, said: "There ain't no such animal." The term means the series of changes in business activity which are characterized by alternating prosperity and depression. Wesley C. Mitchell, our foremost student of this problem, even avoids the terms "prosperity" and "depression" and uses the more precise word "acceleration" and "retardation." Each cycle of business activity does not follow a definitely prescribed course, regular and stereotyped as an astronomical event; on the other hand, the movements are wavelike and not wholly random and without order.

But the lack of ability to measure the business cycle has not deterred us from having theories as to what causes it. There are some one hundred and fifty of these theories and Professor Mitchell has classified them into three groups: *Physical* causes such as those arising from

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sun spots which influence the weather which in turn affects crops which in turn reacts on general business. *Psychological* causes center around the emotional factor in business. Such men as Pigou, the English economist, or Schumpeter, the German economist, contend by somewhat different trends of thought that business men are over-optimistic or over-pessimistic and that these attitudes are responsible for the fluctuations which we call the business cycle. *Institutional* causes are those which explain the cycle as inherent in our present economic system. Different phases or aspects of our economic system are emphasized by the different theorists; thus, there are those who contend that the whole trouble rests on the fact that there is a *maldistribution of income*. J. A. Hobson so avers; he believes that the rich are getting too much. They cannot spend their income and are forced to save; this saving goes into industrial plant and machinery and further increases our capacity to produce. What we need is to increase consumption. Others emphasize by a chain of reasoning that the difficulty arises from the fact that we have a *credit economy*. Almost all our business is today done on credit controlled by banks. When business is on the up-grade there are many forces which urge them to accelerate the upward movement and, when it is slowing down, other forces cause them to hasten the retardation. These theories hold that the changes in the expansion and contraction of credit are forced upon us under our present economy and that the solution rests on credit control. Still others, of whom Stuart Chase is one, state that our trouble arises from a *competitive society* where everyone pursues his own self-interest and an "invisible hand," to use Adam Smith's phrase, guides the whole in such a way as to result in the welfare of all. The answer proposed is to plan production so as to avoid surplus goods, low wages, unemployment and lack of profits.

I regret that I cannot be of much assistance by stating my own attitude toward these theories; it is the rather trite position that there is something to be said for all of them, physical, psychological and institutional. Crop cycles have been established by agricultural economists; business men can and do influence the state of business by their mental attitudes; there is something to the theory of Mr. Henry Ford that high wages are necessary in order to maintain purchasing power; Dr. Virgil Jordan does have a point when he insists that there should be more time for consumption and therefore we should have a shorter working day; those who have a "crow to pick" with the banks are not the wild theorists they may appear to be.

The technological aspects of unemployment need not be elaborated. All of us are familiar with the displacement of men by machines in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and in the field of distribution. There was assurance from the Department of Commerce prior to the present depression that the men so displaced were being absorbed by new industries, such as radio manufacturing, garage operation, hairdressing, and so forth. But the lack of exact information as to the number displaced and the number absorbed quite properly aroused suspicion. The view is now rather widely held that the number unemployed from this cause was much larger than we had assumed and that we must do more than assume that a readjustment will automatically and quickly take place.

Seasonal unemployment has been affected adversely during the past decade by the increasing element of style in consumer goods and by the growing practice of "hand to mouth" buying. In this latter development, retailers and wholesalers have passed back to the manufacturer the hazard of maintaining stocks on hand and he, in many instances, instead of mak-

ing for stock in anticipation of consumer demand, increased his facilities for manufacture and waited for demand to materialize.

What is to be done about this complex problem which is challenging not only the United States but the entire world? We may be reasonably sure that there is no easy answer to a problem that has so many interacting causes. Also, we may be reasonably sure that the first need is for more facts. There is imperative need for more statistics—data on geographical and industrial shifts in unemployment, stocks on the shelves of retailers and wholesalers, the amount of bank credit issued to specific industries, the flow of equipment into these industries, the amount of raw materials on hand, ad infinitum. Secondly, we must attempt to control credit, for cheap credit feeds a runaway market and dear credit starves a dying market. In the third place, we must plan our production and cease to rely entirely on the slow, cumbersome and frequently anti-social operations of

the law of supply and demand. Fourth, we should organize a flexible, plastic labor market with a good system of public employment exchanges and provision for vocational training so that surpluses of labor in one territory or industry may be moved over into deficit areas. Fifth, we must build up a system of unemployment insurance and not be deterred from such action by the cry of "dole." Then, too, higher wages and shorter working days should come. These, and many other moves—all tried experimentally—may bring improvement. And, if we are realists, improvement and not the millennium is all that we can reasonably expect to attain.

To me, the most intriguing aspect of the entire problem is the prospect that we cannot get economic stability without either adopting a policy of strict nationalism—much stricter nationalism than we now have—or adopting a policy of real internationalism—not the internationalism to which most of the world today gives lip service.



Investment Without Representation*

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AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE is traditionally founded upon free private enterprise—the principle that any man shall be free to engage in business if he can persuade others to deal with him; and that these various profit-seeking activities shall be trusted to provide the community with most of the means of life. In this system of free enterprise, the owner of a business attains a position of peculiar importance. He is permitted to acquire control over the productive resources of a community and to manage them for private gain. With this privilege are associated disciplinary penalties for bad management and strong inducements to good management. The rules of the profit system do not give the right to profits, but the right to free pursuit of profits. The freedom to take profits if the enterprise is successful is balanced by responsibility for losses. The desire for profits, the fear of loss, constitute a dual motivation for energetic, careful, efficient management by owners. So runs the theory of private owning.

The corporation, as originally conceived, was not supposed to alter or destroy the nature of ownership. It differed from the individual business primarily in the fact that it represented the associated investment of many. The customary arrangements governing investment, risk, control and income were believed to have changed only with respect to the provision

of limited liability, perpetuity of life and transferability of shares, not with reference to the rights which owners in general enjoyed, nor the responsibilities with which they were burdened. The ultimate control of a corporation rested with the holders of the common stock, who were at law the owners. They assumed the speculative risks of the enterprise. They, in turn, were entitled to the net earnings of the corporation. To protect their interest they held final authority.

But since a large group cannot attend efficiently to the management and administration of a complicated organization, it was necessary to delegate powers to a board of directors. The assumption was that the board of directors would, at regularly stated periods, report back to the stockholders and that the stockholders would keep a watchful eye on the corporation. It was assumed that the directors' management of the affairs of the corporation would be for the benefit of all the stockholders' interests.

In cases in which one or a few investors own all the stock of a corporation, the stockholders usually are able to exercise effective control. Their personal interests are identified with the success of the corporation. Owning the bulk of the investment, they are in a position to acquire all the information which is necessary for effective action. But this is an unusual situation and not typical of the corporate world of today. In practice the larger corporation has weakened the powers of ownership and destroyed the

*This article has been adapted, by one of the authors, from a forthcoming book, *Economic Behavior*, to be published in March by Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

owner's status as a business manager whose income measures his efficiency.

Effective exercise of the power of ownership by the general run of stockholders in large corporations is very difficult, if not impossible. This is due to a variety of circumstances.

The structure of corporate property rights has become involved and intricate. The provision in a mortgage bond granting the holders the power to foreclose if the interest is not paid may convert a temporary financial stringency into bankruptcy, or one class of contracts may carry a clause which foregoes any claims to earnings until a certain rate of return has been paid to another class of contracts. The interest of a holder of any class of stock is therefore dependent not only upon the provisions of that contract but upon the provisions carried by all others. In corporations of any size, the capital investment is usually represented in a labyrinth of security issues which only great legal skill and financial knowledge can traverse. Sometimes the clauses of a contract are so ambiguously drawn that their meaning is uncertain. Recently a contract came to the attention of the writer, a clause of which was interpreted in diametrically opposite ways by two equally reputable financial houses. The difference in interpretation was significant enough to mean that, if one were correct, the holders would lose accumulated earnings over a period of five years, and that, if the other were correct, they could claim these earnings.

The advantages and disadvantages of corporate securities also are often hidden away in the provisions of a plan of financial reorganization. To have, then, a full understanding of a contract of ownership, the owner must have at his command wide sources of information and must be capable of making difficult financial and legal analyses.

A stockholder in a modern corporation

is committed, however, to more than the provisions of his contract. According to the law he assents also "to all of the potentialities of the statute and of the certificate of incorporation drawn under it," as A. A. Berle says (*American Economic Review*, March, 1930). The management of a corporation possesses, under the provisions of the statutes and the charter, wide powers which may be used in various ways to injure the stockholder. Note the following article from a New Jersey charter:

The board of directors shall have power, without the assent or vote of the stockholders, to alter or amend the by-laws of the corporation . . . to authorize and cause to be executed mortgages and liens upon the real and personal property of the corporation; and from time to time to sell, assign, transfer, or otherwise dispose of any or all of the property of the corporation. . . .

Under this provision, the board of directors may burden the corporation with any indebtedness and to any amount they see fit. If they are unscrupulous, they may dissipate the earnings of the corporation by issuing securities which give claims to corporate earnings prior to those of the stockholders. All this without any right of interference by the stockholders. The board of directors may also dispose of all the assets of the corporation to whomever they wish and at whatever price they consider wise.

The prospective purchaser of stock is seldom equipped to investigate the significance of the stock contracts and charters upon which his rights depend. He has neither the information nor the capacity to understand a technical financial and legal document. Few shareholders even bother to read the certificate of incorporation of the company which they partly own.

Moreover, if an owner wishes to exercise any rights of action which he may have, he must master the problems of a complicated business. Here is a doctor who spends the greater part of his wak-

ing hours curing the ills of others and who incidentally has invested his savings in one hundred shares of stock in a manufacturing corporation. Suppose the value of his stock declines or the dividends fall off. As an owner he may wish to examine old policies and to work for the adoption of more successful ones. But were he to take his responsibilities seriously, he would face decision on a number of fields of business and of industry—finance, production, marketing. His skill in removing tonsils does not give him competent judgment about the advisability of a consolidation or a proposed new issue of bonds. He may, of course, secure the advice of specialists, but this would be an expensive procedure, costing more than the dividends on his investment. It is much easier for him to take his loss directly by selling his securities than indirectly by expense upon amateur efforts to save the company.

Fundamental to any effective exercise of authority is adequate information. Suppose the stockholder wants some information. He may purchase the stock at fifty dollars a share on the basis of reported earnings of five dollars during the past year. If he consults existing records of past performance, he may come to the conclusion that the business is operating in a profitable manner. For some mysterious reason the stock drops, let us say, to twenty-five dollars a share. A rumor arises that the dividend is in danger, that affairs are not going well with the corporation. Then perhaps he turns to the company of which he is a part owner and asks for a statement about the current situation. His inquiry probably will receive a reply not greatly dissimilar from one which Professor W. Z. Ripley quotes in *Main Street and Wall Street*:

The financial statement will not be ready before the annual meeting of the stockholders in March, at which time all stockholders will receive a copy. In justice to the other stock-

holders I cannot give you any advance information about the operations or financial condition of this company. Nor can I advise you on what policy to pursue for your investment. It is unfortunate that you have suffered a loss. I have always looked with disfavor upon having the stock of this company become a vehicle for speculation in the market. I can assure you that the company is in a good financial position. I trust that you will sign and mail your proxy at an early date.

Very truly yours,
President.

It is evident that the outside owner is outside in more than one sense. In not a few cases the outside owner has no substantial statements released to him covering past performances, much less contemporary developments. Ripley has pointed out that Royal Baking Powder gives no information at all; that concerning the Singer Manufacturing Company, which produces about 80 per cent of the world's output of sewing machines, no financial data are to be found in the usual sources of information; that the National Biscuit Company has failed to consider such things as income accounts or depreciation as facts in which owners might be interested; that the American Can Company gave depreciation in 1925, but did not reveal the accumulation of this depreciation through the preceding years. Numerous illustrations could be added, not of small corporations, but of vast enterprises whose stock is bought and sold on prominent exchanges.

The ownership of a corporation is divided into many small units. These units or any number of them may be owned by individuals or by other corporations, such as banks, hospitals, colleges, investment trusts and business enterprises. In the case of large corporations, the number of part owners runs into many thousands and the number of unit shares runs into the millions. In the main, the stockholders are strangers to each other, interested in the corporation only to a slight degree, ignorant of the operations of the corporation, scattered far and wide over the world. The mere number of the

owners is a great handicap to any effective participation by them as a body in corporate government. Add to this fact their indifference and their ignorance; the cumulative result amounts to the practical disfranchisement of owners.

The stock of a large corporation commonly is held by several classes of stockholders: (1) some who buy securities as small permanent investments; (2) others whose holdings are part of floating supply in the stock market; (3) a few wealthy individuals who are not members of the board of directors but hold large blocks of stock; (4) various foundations such as the Carnegie Foundation, hospitals, universities and insurance companies which have corporate stocks in their endowments; (5) directors who have not only stock but active control of the corporation.

Those stockholders who buy securities as a more or less permanent investment are sometimes called the "static" investors. This group rarely knows much about the affairs of the corporation and usually signs proxies each year giving the management the right to vote their shares, or else simply does not vote, which also helps the management to keep control.

Regardless of who may be for the moment the temporary owner of "speculative holdings" on the stock exchanges, speculative stock is generally registered in the name of a brokerage house. A brokerage house may be listed on the corporation books as owning a large block of stock when actually it has delivered the stock to the broker representing the most recent purchaser. However, the right to vote is held by the owner registered on the books of the corporation; and the broker or the investment banking house registered for the stock may assign the votes to a proxy whether or not it possesses the securities and regardless of who actually owns them.

Usually the brokers assign their proxies

to the management. This is the easiest thing to do. The broker is not particularly anxious to influence the policies of the corporation. His main interest is in the commission he earns by serving speculators in the market. Moreover, should brokers assert their independence, the banking houses interested in the corporation often could exercise sufficient pressure to bring them into line.

The powerlessness of small security holders is increased by the fact that a corporation may obtain funds without giving the investor any legal authority whatever. Most corporations get part of their money by issuing bonds and preferred stock with no vote. Recently corporations have floated many issues of common stock which give the owner no franchise. An extreme case is given by Professor Ripley in his book *Main Street and Wall Street*. The Industrial Rayon Corporation is incorporated with 600,000 shares; 598,000 shares are non-voting Class A stock and are distributed to Main Street investors. The 2,000 shares of Class B stock have exclusive voting rights and are held by a small group.

Thus authority in large corporations is usually centered in the hands of a small group of "insiders." This group may include a banker or representative of a finance company, representatives of the concentrated minority holdings of a wealthy and influential group of investors and often representatives of large legal and engineering firms closely associated with the corporation. Usually the selected group of "insiders" makes up the membership of an executive committee in whose hands final discretion and power rests. Under ordinary circumstances, control by a minority of stockholders is jeopardized only when other equally powerful minority groups contest it. Bankruptcy, a merger, disapproval by a powerful group which refuses compromise and a place in the directorate—only such

emergencies are likely to bring about a change in management.

The small investor who possesses a few shares in a corporation is as far removed from any exercise of power as is the unskilled laborer who pushes wheelbarrows around in the yards of the factory. He is a part of an undifferentiated mass of security-holders. Whether he holds a contract which gives voting rights or one which gives no voting rights, his part in the enterprise does not differ. He merely exercises his claim to his share of the earnings, if and when they are declared. If the corporation goes bankrupt or is reorganized, he bears more or less loss, depending partly upon the provisions of the contract he has fought and partly upon the effectiveness with which his interests are represented.

It must not be inferred from the above discussion that there is any general complaint by stockholders of discrimination against them, or a demand to assert their power and re-establish the ancient privileges of ownership. These small investors are usually completely dissociated in interest from the corporation as a going enterprise. They are concerned simply with the future earning prospects of the corporation and with the effect that these prospects will have upon the value of their holdings. If they believe that the securities will increase in value or that the corporation will pay large dividends, or if they believe that others will think so strongly enough to want to buy the securities, they will hold them for a future rise. If, on the other hand, they believe they can make more money by buying the securities of some other corporation or that the earnings of a corporation are not going to be satisfactory, or if they believe that others will think so strongly enough to want to dispose of their securities, they will sell their holdings.

Rapid and frequent shifting of invest-

ment holdings, taking advantage of the fluctuations in corporate earnings and corporate values by shrewd buying and selling, was once called speculation. It is now called astute investment. Buying shares of ownership in a corporation with the intention of establishing a permanent connection and active interest in the enterprise was once called investment. Today it may be called unwise speculation.

The intervention of the investment trust throws the character of modern ownership into interesting perspective. An investment trust is a corporation which deals in corporate securities. It sells its own securities to the public and with the funds so secured invests in stocks and bonds. This procedure presumably gives the small investor the protection which a large investment fund may enjoy. His contributions are pooled with the contributions of others and he draws his earnings from the income earned by the total investment.

Thus personal ownership is removed one step further from industrial enterprise. The owner of an investment-trust certificate does not and cannot have any tangible or material interest in the management of any particular industrial or commercial corporation. Gain and loss on investment are not particularized. The gains or losses of investment-trust certificates are those accruing to or suffered by a wide list of securities. The risks of owning are an incidence of the shifting aggregate of price changes of a group of securities. Ownership of corporations, under the aegis of investment trust, becomes an indirect mass claim on earnings and property values and a shrewdly distributed assumption of risk without power or responsibility and without desire for it.

With the dissolution of simple ownership as a way of managing economic enterprise, there is a dissolution of those controls which were, and in large part

still are, believed effective in restraining the profit-seeking endeavors of individuals to socially desirable results. Ownership of corporations consists increasingly of speculative maneuvering of the lists of corporation securities. To own a share in a business in co-operation with others is giving way to active buying and selling of corporate securities. Property, as a basis of organizing economic enterprises, is being converted into a list of commodities to be dealt in as are shoes, wheat, corn and tobacco. Most owners of corporate wealth are absentees in all senses of the term. They are absentees in residence; they are absentees in point of view of any positive contribution or participation in the government of the corporation; they are merely recipients of income, passive so far as the going affairs of the corporation are concerned, active only in seeking shrewd shifting of their holdings for greater speculative returns.

The fortunes of corporate enterprise thus come to depend upon the discretion of inside groups. But the risks of the corporation as a going enterprise are not necessarily the personal risks of those

who exercise governing power over the enterprise. Managers and directors are in a position usually to determine before the general public what the fate of a corporation is likely to be. Even though they may at the moment own some considerable portion of corporate securities destined to decline in value, they, as individuals, are able to sell out in advance. When an access of prosperity is likely to raise the value of a corporation's stock, their advance information permits them to buy out small holders. They may grow rich even though managing a corporation faced with prospective bankruptcy. Mismanagement may increase their personal fortunes. Fluctuating values yield speculative harvests; the lure of gain may induce managements to bring about fluctuating earnings.

Thus they may choose between two roads to fortune: the slow way of sharing the prosperity of a well-managed concern and the quick way of legally expropriating their fellow stockholders. In so far as they choose the second path, profit-seeking activity is perverted from its function of stimulating sound administration of industry.



The Failure of Winners

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EVERYONE knows that few can stand prosperity. It goes to their heads. This is true of individuals, of business organizations and of nations. The glory and the rewards of winning are more than we can stand. Clarence DeMar is an outstanding exception to that rule. He has won the famous Boston Marathon time and again in spite of advancing years. He has astonished the world with his victories. And he has never lost his grip on himself. He has never let up, let down or let go. He is the same devoted, conscientious, self-disciplined, unassuming Christian man that he always has been.

There are legions of winners who have failed. The temptations of success were too many and too strong for them. They soon passed out of sight and were forgotten. It would be cruel and profitless to call the roll. Winners who escape failure are so rare it is better to fix our gaze upon them. Perhaps the most illustrious example of sudden world-wide fame that ever came to a young man is the case of Lindbergh. He won by long, hard, careful preparation. And his success did not go to his head. He refused to sell his great fame for any price. He rejected the glittering allurements of the vaudeville stage and the silver screen; he refused to sell his name for any purpose and insisted on sticking to his work—flying. His achievements in character have made him the darling of our hearts.

The house of Rockefeller has achieved

phenomenal success in winning wealth. It has shown unerring judgment in conserving it and unprecedented genius in distributing it. And, rarest of all, it has trained a competent and worthy son to handle great responsibilities.

In sad contrast, how many marvelously successful winners of economic power, enormously successful business men, make a miserable failure in disposing of their wealth. Witness the recent doings of a grandson of Chicago's greatest merchant prince. The young man settles a million dollars a year alimony on a discarded wife and still has a million dollars a month left with which to entertain his new wife.

Is there not such a thing as quantitative morality? Sometimes an act is right or wrong according to its magnitude. You may have the moral right to leave your child a reasonable inheritance, but have you the right to leave it a sum vastly beyond its ability to handle or use? Some day the state will settle that for us. It is quite all right for a man to light a candle on his kitchen table, but it concerns the community when he puts a ten million candle power beacon on his roof. When great economic power is inherited, it is of the utmost importance to all that the inheritor has been trained to handle it.

The failures of successful business men are of four different types:

(1) *Ennui*. Pitiful indeed is the plight of tens of thousands of successful busi-

ness men caught in a treadmill of grinding cares whose interest in life as a whole is so meager and limited that they dare not retire from the exactions of business for fear they would die of ennui. And it is a sad commentary on any business conducted on such narrow lines. It is so easy to make your fortune and lose your life.

(2) *Self-Glorification.* While few successful business men are so foolish as to talk about their wealth, rare indeed is the man who has made much money who does not forthwith advertise his success to the world by building a great mansion or by buying a large estate or a castle and by plastering his women folk with silks and furs and jewelry. What a commonplace way of manifesting one's success!

(3) *Handing wealth down to the family, irrespective of merit or competency.* This is the oldest, most stupid, most hopeless way of demonstrating one's inability to handle economic success. It is a survival of the ancient idea of royal descent and ought to have become obsolete long ago. It seems to indicate that the maker of the fortune exhausted his brain-power in the making of it and couldn't give a thought to what should become of it. He may make loafers and snobs out of perfectly good children and leave unnourished and unserved many great interests.

(4) *Parrot Giving.* Even though the successful business man gives to public interests in generous proportions, he yet may make more or less of a failure. There is almost a craze in this country for giving vast sums to education and philanthropy without much inquiry as to what the education is all about and why there should be so much need of philanthropy in the richest and supposedly the most democratic country on the globe. Why doesn't the man who has had sufficient brains and force to win a fortune in these highly competitive times have

enough originality and perspicacity to discern the greatest and most neglected needs of his day and provide for them? Why must he in his giving follow others like a sheep instead of leading like the lion he had proved himself to be?

Why not establish in every leading college in the country a chair of philanthropy so that our future fortune-makers may learn when to give and how and where? The average man thinks it is altogether too easy to give and dreadfully hard to earn, whereas in truth it is far easier to earn a fortune than it is to dispose of it intelligently. We have today great industrial, chemical and electrical research laboratories spending seventy-five million dollars a year. We need even more to spend millions in civic, social and economic research if we are to learn how to control the vast material resources and economic power of our day.

For many years I knew the life of Daniel Sharp Ford, the owner of the famous *Youth's Companion*, and for twenty-five years have had a share in dispensing the largest benefaction in his will. Although a multi-millionaire and a lover of fine things, he always lived very modestly and when he died he made his only child, a married daughter, independent and left nine-tenths of his estate to religious and philanthropic interests which had been dear to his heart throughout a lifetime.

Mr. and Mrs. Roger W. Babson, with whom I have been associated for nearly ten years, after winning economic independence continued to live modestly, never allowing themselves even the luxury of a chauffeur, while they were spending over two million dollars to found two unique educational institutions—Babson Institute and Webber College. They put the same genius and energy into their giving that they put into the getting. Mr. Ford and the Babsons are the kind of winners who do not fail.

As a nation we are winning in the field of material gains beyond all precedent. Can we fail miserably nevertheless? Are we building a great Frankenstein? Can we handle the power we are creating? History records a grand succession of mighty nations that have won only to fail. Matching our untold wealth and amazing efficiency, there is a startling decline in religious feeling and in moral standards. In becoming the most envied shall we also become the most hated of nations?

There are already some signs of failure of striking import. We have concentrated nine-tenths of our wealth into the hands of one-tenth of our people. It now takes a million a year income to be noticeably wealthy. Nearly two-thirds of our people are unattached to any form of organized religion. There is the horrible waste and incompetency of meaningless party strife in government, the graft, bootlegging, racketeering and corruption that has fastened upon all our great cities, not alone in connection with liquor, but also in relation to many forms of legitimate business, such as the distribution of milk.

At the recent Institute of Politics in Williamstown, I heard Colonel Cooper, the great American engineer who is building a gigantic hydro-electric power plant for the Soviet Government on the Dneiper River, say that it is now a contest between the communism of Russia and the capitalism of America. Will it be a fair contest when every Russian, young and old, is studying economics, and American youth and the tired business man turn first to the sport news and the stock market quotations?

But a new era is dawning and there is much to give us hope that in spite of our great successes we are not going to fail in the end. For every evil influence there is a hopeful force at work combating it. Especially is this true in the field of business. If the constructive elements at work are given the right of way, it is only a question of time when we shall have a better social order and a finer public spirit. It was H. G. Wells who said: "Our civilization is a race between education and disintegration."

A new code of honor is needed to meet modern conditions, to keep us from hopeless failure in the midst of immeasurable success. What are the deadly sins of our day? You might say they are lying, stealing, drunkenness, debauchery, hypocrisy, hatefulness and vanity. These are bad enough, but they are not at all respectable. It is the generally countenanced, the respectable sins that are the most deadly. Canon Donaldson, a student of our times, says that the seven deadly sins of today are:

(1) Policies without principles—the win at any price idea.

(2) Wealth without work—something we are all looking for.

(3) Pleasure without conscience—I am not my brother's keeper.

(4) Knowledge without character—accomplished crooks.

(5) Business without morality—every man for himself.

(6) Science without humanity—modern instruments of war.

(7) Worship without sacrifice—mere lip service.

Disowning these deadly sins would save any winner from the dangers of final failure.

Trends in Curriculum Theory with a Selected Bibliography

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Trends in Curriculum Theory

A SURVEY of the literature on the curriculum during the first three decades of the current century discloses a number of significant trends in curriculum theory and practice. The bibliography upon which this interpretative statement is based includes only those titles which in one way or another deal with curriculum theory. It does not include statistical studies, surveys or curricular materials for use in teaching situations. Curricular materials alone constitute a very considerable body of literature and reflect the changing practice in curriculum construction and administration. The bibliography does not lay claim to completeness. It is, however, inclusive and contains approximately all the titles appearing in the field of theory during the period from the beginning of the century to the close of 1929. This literature alone contains 460 titles. Of these, 185 are books which deal directly with the curriculum or include the curriculum in their discussions, while 393 are articles.

The first item of significance which this body of literature discloses is that critical and reflective thinking upon the curriculum as one of the factors of the educative process dates from the beginning of the twentieth century. It began with the publication in 1899, of *The School and Society*, by John Dewey, in

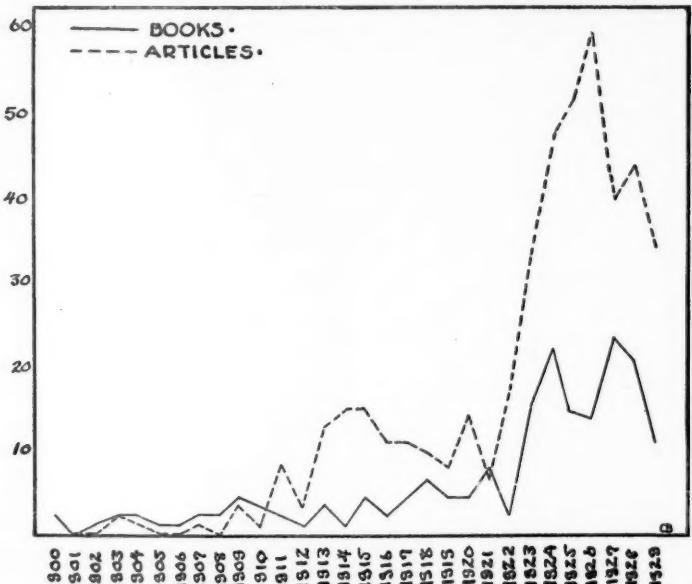
which was interpreted an experiment in the reorganization of the traditional curriculum in the experimental elementary school of the University of Chicago which was under Professor Dewey's direction. An article on "The Curriculum" in the *Elementary School Record* by Professor

TABLE SHOWING RELATIVE VOLUME OF LITERATURE ON THE CURRICULUM

Year	Articles	Books
1900	2	2
1901	0	0
1902	0	1
1903	2	2
1904	1	2
1905	0	1
1906	0	1
1907	1	2
1908	0	2
1909	3	4
1910	1	3
1911	8	2
1912	3	1
1913	13	3
1914	16	1
1915	16	4
1916	11	2
1917	11	4
1918	10	6
1919	8	4
1920	14	4
1921	7	8
1922	18	2
1923	34	16
1924	48	22
1925	52	15
1926	60	14
1927	40	23
1928	44	21
1929	35	11
Total	393	183
Grand total	458	

Dewey followed in 1900. His *The Child and the Curriculum* appeared in 1902, to be followed by *The Educational Situation* in 1906. In 1909 he outlined the implications of his assumptions for moral education in his *Moral Principles in Education*; in 1910 he analyzed the thinking process in its relation to purposeful activity in *How We Think*; and in 1913 he explored the relation of interest to purposeful endeavor in his *Interest and Effort*. In these earliest writings of

ten articles. It was, apparently, a period of maturation, during which the problem of the curriculum was getting itself clearly into educational thinking, the main patterns of ideas were getting themselves outlined and the implications of these ideas were being explored. This is evidenced by the fact that the beginning of the second decade is marked by a pronounced rise in the volume of publications, particularly in the educational journals. It is also evidenced by the fact that



GRAPH SHOWING RELATIVE VOLUME OF LITERATURE
ON THE CURRICULUM.

Dewey, moving critically against the background of traditional theory and practice, germinal ideas emerged that were to have far-reaching effects upon curriculum theory and practice.

An inspection of the accompanying table and graph throws an illuminating quantitative light upon the movement of thought during the opening third of the present century. During the first decade, the volume of literature was small. All told, there were only twenty books and

during the first decade the ratio of journal to book publication was exactly reversed. Ephemeral journal publication is a more certain index of the reaction of the profession to fundamental ideas than book publication, since books tend, on the whole, more toward the logical formulation of concepts, while articles tend to assume the character of review, criticism, elaboration and application of these ideas.

The opening of the second decade is

marked by a sharp rise in publication, particularly in the field of journal discussions. While there is a fairly steady rise of the curve of book publications, there is a characteristic lag behind articles, for reasons just suggested. In 1915 there is a sharp break in articles which continued until 1920. One suspects that this lull was due to the interruption of the world war which made such deep inroads upon all other intellectual activities. An inspection of the curve might lead one to surmise that, but for this tragic dislocation of Western thought, the publications on curriculum would have followed a steadily rising curve and that possibly the peak of literature production might have been brought forward slightly. In any case, by the end of the second decade the curriculum was deeply in the thinking of educationists in America.

With the very beginning of the third decade, the volume of literature on the curriculum mounted with astonishing vigor. This was true of book publications, but especially of ephemeral literature, which played around the steadily increasing body of systematic book discussion. The peak was reached in 1926, when as many as sixty articles were published. The peak for books was reached in 1927, when not less than twenty-three authorities paid their attention to the curriculum. Subsequent to 1926-27 there was a decided decline in the number of publications, though 1929 closed with not less than forty-six titles. It would appear that during the period from 1911 to 1929 the basic assumptions concerning the curriculum were being formulated, the principal differences in viewpoint and approach were being elaborated and defined through discussion and debate, and the chief implications of these varying viewpoints were being patterned in terms of educational procedure. It would also appear that, as the end of this period approached, there was a shift from theory to practice in the form of experimental con-

struction, organization and administration of the curriculum in actual teaching situations. This is also evidenced by the relative decline of articles in proportion to books.

As has been suggested, this new movement in curriculum theory emerged against a background of traditional theory and practice as a criticism of these traditional concepts and as a departure from traditional practice. The oldest of these traditional ideas conceived the curriculum as a body of logically organized knowledge to be transmitted to the young by the process of formal instruction. But deeply imbedded in that traditional background was also the conception of the curriculum as a body of formal material whose chief function was the "disciplining" of the mind with its supporting faculty psychology and the doctrine of the transfer of training. These two traditions were variously intermingled in practice, not only in the elementary school, but up through secondary education to the college and the university. A part of that traditional background was the temporary vogue which the recapitulatory theory had in American education, which found the content and organization of the curriculum in the evolving cultural products of the race as suitable materials for the stimulation and development of the innate capacities and interests of the young which, in their unfolding, followed in a predetermined order the cultural stages of the race. This vogue found expression in G. Stanley Hall's two monumental volumes on *Adolescence*, 1905, and in the fact that Professor Bolton deemed it appropriate to devote several chapters in his *Principles of Education* to setting forth the evidence and implications of the recapitulation theory in 1910.

The chief significance of this new movement in educational theory, when viewed against these traditional backgrounds from which it emerged, is that

in one way or another it sought to relate the curriculum directly or indirectly to experience. It is only within this larger current of thought that the variant viewpoints regarding the nature of the curriculum and the techniques that are appropriate to curriculum construction and administration can be understood.

Within this larger movement of thought several widely different theories of the curriculum have developed. At the extreme right are a group of thinkers who conceive of the curriculum as an instrument for preparing the child to participate in an already set up adult society. As a representative of this mode of thought, Charles H. Judd holds that the educative process is to be thought of in terms of a socializing process. He holds that education seeks to give to the individual as much as possible of the organized experiences which generations of minds have put together and that it should drill the individual in the use of adaptation which has been perfected by earlier generations. For him, education is a process of transforming individuals so that they will conform to social institutions.¹ With this view Franklin Bobbitt agreed in his earlier publications. For him education was "primarily for adult life, not for child life. Its fundamental responsibility is to prepare for the fifty years of adulthood, not for the twenty years of childhood and youth."² In his later writings, however, Professor Bobbitt has abandoned his older conception of the curriculum as an instrument for training for a future adult experience in favor of dealing directly with the current experience of the child.³ With this general conception of the curriculum, W. W. Charters is in accord. "Whether," he holds, "we do it directly or indirectly, the patterns of education are adult activ-

ities."⁴ Consequently, the technique of curriculum construction is through an activity-analysis of adult life with a view to ascertaining the traits and trait-actions that are necessary to participation in adult life. In his *The Teaching of Ideals*, Professor Charters still holds to the technique of the activity-analysis of adult life and to adult consensus for the authoritative list of ideals that shall be taught, but he modifies his procedure in that he seeks for life situations in which these adult predetermined traits are involved as mediums for teaching them. In the thinking of the group of which these authorities are representative, it is clear that the determinative factor in the content of the curriculum is adult experience for participation in which, at some more or less remote future, the child is to be prepared through a training procedure.

At the extreme left is a group of authorities which makes the experience of the child the determinative factor in the selection and organization of the curriculum. A representative of this view is William H. Kilpatrick. He holds that "the curriculum . . . is a series of experiences in which by guided induction the child makes his own formulations."⁵ To him the child's "ways-of-behaving" is the nexus that brings the child and the experience of the race together, the latter being a resource for assisting the child to understand his own behavior, to judge it and to bring it under control.⁶ The technique of curriculum procedure, from this point of view, is to begin with child interests and activities in the form of projects that are conceived as units of purposeful activity carried through to ends that are worthful to the child in a natural social situation, through purposing, planning, executing and judging.⁷ The nexus that binds these projects together in a continuous child experience

1. *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, esp. pp. 128 and 340. Cf. also his statement in the *Twenty-sixth Yearbook* of the Society for the Study of Education, pp. 113-117.

2. *How to Make a Curriculum*, esp. p. 8.

3. "Character-building in the New Curriculum," *Religious Education*, October, 1926, p. 472.

4. *Curriculum Construction*, p. 154, *et passim*.

5. *Foundations of Method*, p. 210.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 344, 347; 241, 345-46; 354-59, 361.

is the "leading-on interest." This view makes much of changes in modern culture and of the necessity of criticizing the *status quo* and of the continuous reconstruction of culture as well as of the expanding experiences of the child.⁸ From this approach only in a most general and flexible way can the curriculum be planned in advance of the actual teaching operation. An illustration of the working out of this sort of curriculum on the project basis may be found in Ellsworth Colings' *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum*, the record of an attempt to concrete this general point of view in educational practice. As illustrative of this general point of view Junius L. Merriam's *Child Life and the Curriculum* may be cited. He would "begin with the child's natural life and . . . seek to make the child more efficient in those things in which he normally engages."⁹

Between these positions at the extreme right and at the extreme left, authorities distribute themselves on a scale of variations. In not a few cases there is a good deal of mixture of views and techniques that are not essentially consistent and that wait for a more comprehensive synthesis of the essential values that reside in both extreme views into a consistent whole. The main patterns of these trends are, however, very clear. At the one extreme is a curriculum the content and procedure of which are determined by adult values and needs and which places a distinct emphasis upon the *status quo*. At the other extreme is a curriculum the content and procedure of which are determined by the interests and needs of the child. The one has given us a program of training; the other the child-centered school.

These differences of viewpoint and approach were brought into vivid juxtaposition and contrast in the report of the

conference on curriculum theory in the *Twenty-sixth Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, 1926. In this conference an attempt was made to locate and define the principal differences in theory and to discover, if possible, the basic elements that were common to all positions. In this report a statement is made by each of the participants in the conference and the main issues, together with the fundamental agreements, are brought into clear relief in relation to each other and to the entire movement of curriculum thought.

In the more recent literature there appears a tendency to synthesize these more widely variant views into a consistent and comprehending whole that seeks to utilize the positive values of both positions. If the adult predetermined curriculum has tended to mold the child to more or less static and traditional social forms, the child-centered curriculum has tended to make education a tentative and following process, with tendencies toward atomism. There is a tendency to be critical of certain results of the child-centered school in its more radical experimental reactions from the more rigid and formal regimentation of the adult-centered school. This appears in the criticisms of Harold O. Rugg's and Ann Shumaker's *The Child-centered School*.¹⁰ The term "experience-centered" has been suggested as a possible integrating term. According to this view the curriculum is to be thought of as "the experience of the learner as it undergoes interpretation, enrichment, and control in the light of the best experience of the race."¹¹ From this point of view

it is ill advised to affirm that education is child-centered. Education is a more fundamental and far-reaching undertaking than can be couched in the interests and needs of the child or of a single generation in isolation from the interests and needs of society. It is a complex process of vast social proportions. In it the race is renewing and re-creating its spiritual values while it is renewing its biological

8. William H. Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, *passim*.

9. *Child Life and the Curriculum*, p. 6.

10. Especially chapters vii-x.

11. William Clayton Bower, *The Curriculum of Religious Education*, *passim*, but esp. chap. iv.

life. To conceive education as child-centered is probably as great an error as to conceive it as centering in subject-matter. Education takes place at the point where current personal and social experience fuses with racial experience and where both are reconstructed. Current personal and social experience is reconstructed in the light of the knowledge, the techniques and the standards of racial experience. Racial experience, on the other hand, is reconstructed through the fresh discoveries, the new and better techniques and the emerging values of a complex and rapidly changing world. Without the resources of long racial experience, limited current experience is blind, lacking in standards of values, faltering in its techniques and lacking in continuity. Without the fresh insights of current experience, racial experience is static, regimented, traditional and repressive.¹²

The techniques of curriculum construction from this point of view take the child where he is as a self-realizing person in the world as is and seek to place at his disposal the techniques for exploring the entire range of his experience, the resources of racial experience and the techniques that will assist him in utilizing these resources in understanding his experience of his world, in evaluating that

12. William Clayton Bower, *Character through Creative Experience*, p. 134. Cf. also pp. 14-16.

experience and the material and social environment from adjustment to which his experience arises, in forming purposes regarding it and in discovering and mastering the factors of its control. These techniques of curriculum construction operate through social analysis, which seeks to assist the growing person and his counselors to secure a total and adequate picture of the relationships in which he is involved, whether consciously or not, and through the discovery of the activities, interests and difficulties of the growing person as the beginning points from which and the mediums through which the learner may, through guided experience in meeting and responding to actual life-situations, become a responsible participant in a long-time and forward-moving human enterprise of achievement.

The next steps in curriculum theory and practice are quite obviously in the direction of actual experimentation with content and techniques in actual educational operations.

A Selected Bibliography on Curriculum

This selected bibliography approximates one-sixth the length of the original bibliography upon which the above interpretation was based. The selected list, however, contains in addition a few of the most significant books and articles appearing early in 1930.

The plan of organization was decided upon after interviewing several

college professors, graduate students and leaders in the field of religious education in order that the bibliography might meet the needs of careful students in various situations. Asterisks appear before 71 books and articles. It is the opinion of the authors that if the starred references are carefully examined a basic understanding of the current curriculum situation may be arrived at.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. CURRICULUM THEORIES

1. General Theory
2. Subject Matter or Habit Training Views
3. Experience-centered viewpoints: Project, child-centered and experience views

II. CURRICULUM INVESTIGATIONS

This includes committee and individual surveys, studies, research and experimentation

III. CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION

1. Principles of Procedure
2. Significant types of curriculum

IV. CURRICULUM EVALUATION AND TRENDS

V. CURRICULUM BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES

Our Economic Morality. By HARRY F. WARD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Pp. 323. \$2.50.

In this volume Professor Ward makes a critical evaluation of our economic order. He shows that the industrial order is chiefly responsible for determining the present social philosophy. He analyses our current motivation and shows how we have come to have our present deterministic philosophy of profit. He finds that industry has a very distinct philosophy of its own and that this philosophy has now become the dominant motif of all our thinking and doing. Furthermore, this philosophy of the economic order claims to be an entity in and of itself and morally independent of all other life factors; it is not responsible to society but insists upon being "a law unto itself." This is so far true that the economic order nullifies any efforts at social change by packing committees with men who will shunt any attempts that are opposed to its spirit.

The heart of our economic philosophy, which has become an all-dominating cult supported by the majority of the churches, professors in our schools and, of course, spokesman of government, is the "profit motive." The dogma of the "profit motive" is that "unlimited opportunity for money-making is the strongest incentive to maximum effort . . . the justification of the profit motive as the one aim of business." The study of economics accordingly becomes the "science of money-making," and, in common with industry, conceives itself as separate and distinct from social ethics. This cult of profit

develops a dominating self-interest and leads to conflict and strife between individuals and groups in the race for profits. Business for profit cannot yield profits to all. The stronger must appropriate a part of the "labor product of the weaker" in order to pile up possessions for himself.

The author holds that this economic cult of "profits," with its dominating self-interest and exploitation of others as its *sine qua non*, is diametrically opposed to the ethic of Jesus, which calls for sacrifice, service and interest in the good of all.

The author further holds that this prevailing economic philosophy now so dominant in America and much of the world is tragic in that it is defeating both itself and the society which it dominates. The reason for this is that "it operates for us . . . , only at the cost of other people. . . . Under the competitive profit system there is not reciprocal benefit."

The machine system, strangely enough, increases production to the point that more is produced than is needed and, under the dominating motif of self-interest displayed in the form of the taking of profits, is pushing the small minority toward ultra riches and the majority toward extreme poverty. The author shows that great profits and bread lines of necessity go together. The profit motive is for the strong. The worker is expected to give a full day's labor but is not expected to make a profit. This would be unethical on the part of the laborer. It is the owner only who is expected to make

profits. Hence the profit motive is for the favored few and this, claims the author, is exactly opposite to the ethic of Jesus and leads to eventual idle parasitism on the part of the heirs of the moneyed class. This privileged few inevitably turn from production to hoarding and finally to ostentatious display of class.

This book raises questions that demand scientific study. It holds that the church and all agencies interested in character development will need to draw unto themselves the best minds of the age to make a persistently scientific attack on this most fundamental issue. Questions like these must be answered: What philosophy of living makes for true religiousness? What is the result of the current economic philosophy and the ethic of Jesus (exact opposites) existing in the same world? Will one inevitably nullify or absorb the other? If the current economic philosophy is to prevail what can man look forward to and what kind of society can we have? Is our economic philosophy true? Is the ethic of Jesus true? In how far can we trust our future to "competition," "the profit motive" and "individual perpetual ownership of property?"

This book deserves wide study and careful reading. Its many references to source materials make it of even greater value. It is a challenge to our philosophy of living.

J. M. ARTMAN

Religious Education Association

Religion Lends a Hand. By JAMES MYERS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929. Pp. 167. \$1.50.

Each of the twelve chapters of this little book portrays a program of social action on the part of some individual church or group of churches, or the co-operating forces of Protestantism, Ca-

tholicism and Judaism. Here are chapters on the concern of city church folk for the economic problems of their farmer friends; the program of one city federation of churches in social service and labor relations; how a council of churches develops good will between racial groups; the work of the church in one college center in introducing college students to the problems of coal miners; the social work of a local church in a great city with health programs, mental hygiene, fellowship forums, and so forth; the diversified program of a larger parish; the description of a college student summer wage earning and job hunting seminar as an effort to understand the actual experiences of workers; the twelve-hour day fight waged by Catholics, Jews and Protestants; the Labor Temple activities; what a single church does in behalf of world peace and international-mindedness; the religious education of reconciliation trips.

Every chapter is a vibrant statement of a case showing a phase of the church in social action. The status of the principles of justice and good will, of universal brotherhood and human well-being, are revealed by striking descriptions of actual situations in which human beings are thwarted by carelessness and unsocial concern of their more favored brothers.

It is interesting that the philosophy of industry appears as a major problem in practically every case presented.

J. M. ARTMAN

Religious Education Association

Religion in Life Adjustments. By SAMUEL NOWELL STEVENS. New York: Abingdon Press, 1930. Pp. 147. \$1.50.

"The older passion to save men's souls has gone long since," but this does not necessitate the passing of pastoral ministration. For "here in our day is a new

basis for an old passion. The minister as a pastor may come to the aid of men and women who are in the process of becoming souls. . . . Let the minister intelligently approach this great task with new tools and modern understanding and the dynamic power of an earlier day will be regained."

That there is undoubtedly need of this new approach to the pastoral relationship is evidenced by the fact that a survey of any parish will reveal such maladjusted personality situations as lonesome people, aged persons out of touch with life, flaming youth, persons making vocation choices, vocational misfits, persons handicapped by poverty, blindness, deafness, lameness, and so forth, chronically ill persons, egotists, skeptics, cynics, fearful and worried persons, materialists, the commercially-minded, persons in home and family situations sadly maladjusted. Has religion any balm for these aching hearts? Are we hopeless as Christians in our desire to serve in such situations? Not at all.

Religion has great and wholesome therapeutic value for such maladjusted persons. To one who is loved and trusted as the pastor is, or should be, such sufferers as we have described will in confidence pour out their souls' secrets in confessions. If the psychoses in particular cases have proceeded too far or if the hidden causes of the maladjustments are so deeply repressed in the unconscious mind that the sufferers themselves are unaware of them, then a trained psychiatrist may be necessary to bring them to light. When the sufferer, either by confession or by the findings of the psychiatrist, however, stands revealed in the presence of his pastor, what an opportunity is presented to remake life in terms of the Christian challenge and program! Prayer and faith work wonders in such situations, achieving what expert psychological practitioners are incapable of do-

ing when they lack the spiritual tools in which the minister is professionally and experimentally habituated. In such situations the older passion to save souls becomes sublimated in the ministry of religious recreation of the soul.

But the chief service of religion in life adjustments is not in the realm of therapeutics, but rather in the realm of prevention. The integrated personality is not in danger of maladjustment. The church, through its program of religious education, should enable persons to orientate themselves socially and rationally. One individual has an urge toward self-expression, another toward social oneness with his own kind and a third toward unity with the world as a whole.

Religion, as involving the whole being and with its prerogative of evaluating all experience both present and past, offers to man his only dependable chance to satisfy these basic urges of his being. Religion, therefore, is debased when it becomes a defense mechanism and is maligned when it is described as the refuge of the ignorant, the stupid or the cowardly; for religion, rightly understood, is the synthesis of those spiritual values which yield an integrated personality in the individual man and a progressive spiritual reconstruction of those social patterns in terms of which men live in society.

The book is a suggestive rather than a scientific treatise. In his basic positions, however, the author stands on solid foundations. As an introductory discussion, the book will serve to send the reader who would be proficient in the use of religion for life adjustments to the source materials listed in the bibliography and to other works of equal importance or, better still, to seek opportunities for clinical experience.

WILLIAM A. HARPER
Elon College

The Significance of Personality. By RICHARD M. VAUGHAN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 302. \$2.50.

This is an excellent presentation of a philosophy of personalism which gains its support partly from the theological assumptions of the author and partly from its own obvious usefulness and worth. Theologically, the author is convinced that the Christ-like personality is the measure and the goal of human striving, since it affords our deepest revelation of the nature of God. Pragmatically he believes in personalism because "it organizes the facts of life into the most harmonious and self consistent system of thought." Professor Vaughan writes with clarity and conviction. His rich scholarship is never allowed to impede the rapid logic of his presentation, nor does he hesitate to express his own conclusions both as to matters of fact and of opinion. One senses through his prose the intensity and the fervor of his own faith. He writes as one having authority. And because of his evident sincerity and the breadth of his understanding, this forthrightness is both refreshing and stimulating. Here is a man who has read widely and thought deeply, bearing witness to the glad faith that is in him and to the practical value and spiritual significance of that faith to confront triumphantly the mysteries and the tragedies of life, to meet constructively its tasks and difficulties.

The author finds agnosticism negative and ineffectual. "Religion, as the spirit of awe and reverence, cannot dispense with mystery, but mystery is not the utterly unknown but the partially known, and it is itself a challenge to larger knowledge. . . . Agnosticism can only be relative, for an absolute agnosticism would be self-refuting." He finds impossible the acceptance of materialism as a working view of life because of present uncertainty as to the nature of matter and because of materialism's "benumbing

and devastating effect upon life." He concludes, with typical dogmatism, "We shall not have reached the clear, open spaces . . . until we recognize that the material universe is wholly instrumental and that spiritual values are final and eternal." Of pantheism he says, "Despite its elements of appeal the difficulties in pantheism are so great that it can be the philosophy of only an esoteric company. . . . Personality in man, as well as in God, perishes in the pantheistic gulf. . . . By its own inward logic, pantheism everywhere lowers our estimate of man and destroys the incentives to progress." These brief quotations must suffice to show the nature of Professor Vaughan's basic assumptions and the degree of his dependence upon pragmatism to validate them.

The body of the book is given to an exposition of personalism, its origin and development, its significance in attaining a coherent world view both of God and of the universe. "The idea of divine personality gives to the human mind an adequate explanation of the origin and purpose of the world." Confronted with the problem of evil, the author has no better solution to offer than that of a self-limited God, whose "power is adequate but not unconditioned." The spirituality of nature is indicative of the active presence of a God "eternally creative," and "The world, by its very structure as wholly dependable and orderly, is built to promote our moral welfare."

This easy optimism is further expressed in his definition of history as "a stage where God discloses his character to us and where his dealings with mankind find expression in divine Providence and in human progress." Professor Vaughan is equally orthodox in other aspects of his theology. "The moral ideal of personality we find presented to us in the highest form in the Christ-idea and in the historical Jesus." Conscience is "an original furnishing of the soul . . . an

inherent category of personality, even though the empiric contents of our moral codes reveal historical evolution and are proper subjects of scrutiny and revision." The welfare of persons is the sanction of morality, God its ground and reverence for personality its driving power. In all the basic institutions of society, the family, the state, the economic order, the school, the church, Dr. Vaughan is able to discover a progressive realization in theory and in practice of this reverence for personality. And of course, he believes in personal immortality. "To think otherwise is to err, not knowing the power of God."

As has been hinted, Professor Vaughan, in spite of his constant reliance upon pragmatic tests, is not a thorough-going pragmatist. His faith leads him to transcend pragmatic relativities. Religion must be based upon certainty. God, he asserts, is objective reality. Religion and science move in separate planes. Though "probability" may govern scientific generalizations, "in the sphere of religion, we need a stronger term, and we therefore prefer to speak of 'moral certainty.'" He refuses the pragmatists' slogan, "it is true because it works," aligning himself rather with the idealists in saying "it works because it is true."

In the final analysis, then, this book presents an integrated and coherent world-view which cannot but seem attractive and usable. Yet the basic assumptions upon which it is constructed remain on the whole unsupported save by the author's dogmatism and his energetic "will to believe." We are the richer for the witness he has borne of the faith that is in him. Many will find their own faith reinforced by his clear utterance and others will have a better appreciation of the richness and the power of a faith to which they may not attain.

ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR.

Union Theological Seminary.

The Dream Power of Youth. By PERCY R. HAYWARD. New York: Harper and Bros., 1930. Pp. 177. \$2.00.

The mind of poet, prophet and practical educator is blended in the production of this volume. *The Dream Power of Youth* has been hammered out of the experience of Dr. Hayward during the last two decades as local pastor, National Council secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Canada and, more recently, as Director of Young People's Work for the International Council of Religious Education.

The chapter headings of the book, in addition to a prologue and epilogue, include the following: "The Dream Power Within," "The Power of Human Motive," "The Motivating Power of Religion and the Church," "The Motives of Modern Youth," "The Church and Youth," "Mobilizing the Dream Power of Youth," "Is This Dream Practical?" "The Dream Power Within the Reader." These chapter headings hardly suggest, however, the concreteness and conciseness with which the author deals with his theme.

The chief contribution of the book is to the philosophy rather than to the method and techniques of religious education. The discussion of current programs for the education of youth, however, carries with it implicitly some consideration of method.

In the early chapters of the volume, the flavor of Benjamin Kidd's *The Science of Power* seems perceptible. Lest this testimony should immediately belittle the book in the eyes of our more "realistic" readers, it should be added that the author is thoroughly sensitive to the fact that ideals and motives are not citizens of any supermundane realm apart from the actualities of the human, social world in which the individual "lives and moves and has his being."

Readers who might fear that Dr. Hay-

ward's relationship with the "fifty-seven denominations" would make difficult a thoroughly inductive piece of work will be surprised at his frankness. He faces, of course, the dilemma that is inevitable when a person attempts to be thoroughly inductive in discovering the ideal and task of religion in the contemporary world, but starts with the presupposition that certain historical persons and experiences should have a significant place in whatever forms the new quest finds embodiment. Occasionally a rather obscure phrase appears, such as ". . . the religion of Jesus, in its purest form." But this is Hayward the poet who is talking.

Like Coe, he is fearless and poignant in his criticism of the church to which he is giving his life. Within the next quarter century a last chance faces the religion of Jesus to make any effective bid for influencing society. There is no guarantee whatever, despite its wealth of potential resources, that organized Christianity will be able to grip the world. It may be that the Christian religion, even though it continues, will be but "a fringe or ornament that is added to the garment of life once its weaving is complete, but in the long run fringes and ornaments

do not clothe the body or the soul or control the vital affairs of men."

The author devotes much of his attention to the constructive steps that should be taken if the Christian religion is to be transformed sufficiently to be attractive to modern youth and to be effective in modern social life. The four or five definite proposals that he formulates merit careful consideration by religious educators. In his suggestion of the necessity of achieving a unified community if effective character development is to take place he is directly in line with some of the fundamental conclusions of Hartshorne and May in their *Character Education Inquiry*.

The reviewer, for one, hopes that Dr. Hayward will go on and deal more thoroughly with the practical program and methods essential for actualizing the dream formulated in this volume.

The Dream Power of Youth should be read by youth itself, pastors, teachers and other leaders of youth who wish to see the work they are doing in the larger perspective of the currents and demands of the contemporary world.

HEDLEY S. DIMOCK
Y. M. C. A. College, Chicago

Educating for Peace. By ELIZABETH MILLER LOBINGIER and JOHN LESLIE LOBINGIER. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1930. Pp. 216. \$2.00.

Gradually the leadership of the world is coming to realize that "peace on earth, good will among men" will be brought about primarily through education. Any contribution, therefore, that emphasizes this fact and suggests materials and methods by which a program of education for peace can be carried forward effectively is doubly welcome. Such a timely and welcome contribution is found in *Educating for Peace*. Here is a book that treats simply and helpfully this educational task and suggests the areas and relationships in which this education may most effectively be accomplished. After discussing the nature of the task, the book discusses peace education through the home, the church and the public school. Additional chapters deal with "Peace Education through Dramatization," "Peace Plays and Pageants" and "Source Materials."

The authors show clear insights into the problem of peace, reveal a thorough knowledge of the educational theories and principles that are involved and demonstrate a familiarity with the available source materials to be used in this program of education. These are all placed at the disposal of the interested reader and student of the problem, in language that is clear and convincing. While care should be exercised in suggesting that peace education become an "adjunct" to the major program of education or religious education, it will be necessary to "sell" peace education to parents, church school teachers, ministers, public school teachers and any others coming into direct contact with the growing generation. This can be done without making peace education an obnoxious hobby by those who will follow the treatment given the subject in this text.

Knowing the authors one can readily account for the heavy emphasis in the book upon the dramatic method of educating for peace. But the question naturally arises as to whether the

treatment might not have been much stronger and more helpful if a more comprehensive presentation of more varied methods of training had been given. The book is fortunate in its title which makes it suggestive and available to those sustaining contact with children and youth in any relationship whatever. The treatment conforms to the theory of the unity of the educative experience by treating in one volume peace education in the major areas of living,—the home, the church and the school. Embracing all three of these agencies as it does, one might wish for a more proportionate treatment of peace education in the school. Sixty pages are devoted to the church and thirty-one to the school. Considering the volume of experience children have in the public school, this relationship would seem to be the one in which the most effective education would occur. The book on the whole is most usable and welcome.—*Frank M. McKibben*

Foundations for Human Engineering. By CHARLES R. GOW. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930. Pp. 239. \$1.60.

This little book of but 239 pages is full of that sort of wisdom and counsel which can come only out of an intelligent, informed and analytic mind after long years of experience in handling men, in determining the causes of their failures and successes.

The book will be read and studied to great profit by students, faculty men, clerks, employers—all who want to get on in life. It brings home to one the fact that character is the greatest single factor in progress in any sphere and that the real qualities determining the success of the individual are largely in the reach of all. Technical skill is here greatly subordinated to the human qualities so often despised, such as honesty, loyalty, friendliness, courtesy, sound judgment, and so forth.

As the writer suggests, the material of the book could well be used as the basis for a course in humanities in our institutions of learning.—*O. D. Foster*

An Anthology of Modern Philosophy. By DANIEL SOMMER ROBINSON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1931. Pp. 836. \$4.50.

This work consists of ninety-seven selections from the writings of thirty-two significant thinkers covering the period between 1500 and 1900. It has a page devoted to "A Conspectus of Modern Philosophy" in which these thinkers are rather successfully classified chronologically as the break with scholasticism, the origin and development of rationalism, the origin and development of empiricism, the critical philosophy and its offshoots, and the anti-metaphysical philosophers. One is not a little surprised to find that nothing from William James appears in this volume. The reason for this, I take it, is that in the author's earlier volume—*An An-*

thology of Recent Philosophy—an eight-page selection from him is found and several references by writers on pragmatism. In an appendix there is a biographical sketch of each author including a list of his writings. Each selection is preceded by a valuable analysis which, perhaps in this age of extracts and essences, will suffice for the many, leaving the selection for the few.

The author says that "this anthology is intended primarily to supplement lectures or any of the standard text-books on the History of Modern Philosophy." Due to a growing disesteem of the lecture method in educational practice, the latter will prove its primary use. This purpose it should serve well. The questions at the end of each chapter should have pedagogical value. They suggest, perhaps, that the book is to serve beginners primarily. Yes, but not as a text itself, because of the necessarily limited character of the selections. We are indebted to the author for making accessible to the student material hitherto unavailable in English. Especially brilliant in style and clear, reminding one of Professor James, is the selection from Kierkegaard attacking Hegelian absolutism. Of much less importance is the first selection from Campanella.

Of course, in the choice of selections the personal equation counts as in the case of the reviewer. Yet one feels, for example, that from Fichte some selection more expressive of his science of knowledge might well have been made, from Schliermacher something more in the field of religion, and from John Stuart Mill something in logical method or more explicitly ethical. Kant is amply treated, relatively speaking, when, in addition, selections from Caird and Green are included. On the other hand, space might well have been saved where, in the case of Hegel, to give but one instance, seven pages are given to a table of the categories.

With the general method employed by our author, that of several brief selections rather than a few longer ones from each thinker, I am in agreement. It might have been better had he applied it in some few additional cases such as those just cited. Apart from such minor criticisms, it would be difficult, in so inclusive an undertaking within the limits of one volume, greatly to improve this work. In teaching the history of philosophy I have found source books helpful. I have reason to expect much from the use of this volume.—*Herbert Martin*

First Steps in Religious Education. By FRANCES MCKINNON MORTON. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1930. Pp. 203. \$1.25.

"When we bring children into the world we take hostages of the future . . ." Mrs. Morton takes a text and follows it to its conclusion. She begins where she ought to—the mother as a teacher. She pleads for an understanding of children, for their rights, for

their relation to God. She holds, and rightly, that a new type of authority must displace the old-time tyranny. Co-operation must begin at home. So in religion. We must think of co-operating with God for the good of the world. We must make our wills God's and we do this by sharing his motives.

This is an excellent book for mothers who have not had the opportunities of a thorough training in child psychology—or any psychology for that matter. It presents the case clearly and in a readable manner.—Charles R. Hawley

The Healthy-Minded Child. Edited by NELSON ANTRIM CRAWFORD and KARL A. MENNINGER. New York: Coward-McCann, 1930. Pp. 198.

This book, especially designed for the reading of the average parent, is a series of separate articles on bringing up children to be healthy-minded. These articles originally appeared in the *Household Magazine*, as an attempt to bring "modern scientific knowledge to everyday people." They are here somewhat amplified and edited for publication by Nelson Antrim Crawford, editor-in-chief of the *Household Magazine*, and Karl A. Menninger, M. D., author of *The Human Mind*. In addition to Mr. Crawford and Dr. Menninger, the book numbers among its distinguished list of authorities in the field of education, mental hygiene and psychiatry, Herman M. Adler, Bertrand Russell, Lawson G. Lowrey, Ernest R. and Gladys H. Groves, Josephine A. Jackson, Lillian M. Gilbreth, George K. Pratt and William C. Menninger. A short sketch of each writer precedes his contribution in the book and adds to the confidence of the readers in the material presented.

The relationship of mental health to home and school education, to physical development and welfare, to habit formation, play and sex education, is fully set forth in this series of articles. One paper is devoted to the special problems of adolescence and another to the behavior difficulties of lying, stealing and running away. One of the most helpful contributions is Mr. Crawford's discussion of "The Child's Reading," indicating the types of reading and stories that for purposes of mental hygiene may be wisely kept out of the hands of young children, as well as the material which is most wholesome in a balanced reading experience. The bibliography on useful books on the mental health of the child is also a very valuable feature.

The point of view of all the writers is that "queer behavior is not due to demons or witches or original sin or bad morals or lack of brains, but is instead a struggle of a personality inadequate to deal with the situation in which it finds itself," and that healthy-mindedness is the "capacity for facing the adventures of life bravely and effectively and adjusting oneself to the demands of the situation without damaging it or being damaged by it. It implies the actual betterment of personality and environment." The book emphasizes again and again the influence of the attitudes and personality traits of

parents and teachers on children and the necessity of re-educating the present parent or teacher frequently so that his influence is positive instead of negative. The importance of interests leading to worth while activities and of success in these activities is stressed as the basis for healthy-mindedness.

It is unavoidable that there should be some repetition in a series of papers treating the same problem from different approaches, but each paper adds valuable new information. The book is a helpful addition to the library of anyone interested in the welfare, education and training of children and is especially practical for use in parents' study groups.—Edna Dean Baker

Unitive Protestantism. By JOHN T. MCNEILL. New York: Abingdon Press, 1930. Pp. 345, \$3.00.

Professor McNeill came to the University of Chicago from Knox College, Toronto. He was a factor in the formation of the United Church of Canada. The materials of this book have grown out of his experience as well as out of his classroom work.

Quite contrary to the common view, he reaches the conclusion, on the basis of a widely-reaching and well-documented survey, that the ideal of Christian unity was a pronounced original character of Protestantism and while for a time not very active it has now resumed vitality and promises to become dominant. "Unionism moves today on a sharply rising curve, and short of the participation of Rome, it is difficult to foresee the possibility of a serious check to its progress."

Our author is certain that nothing is to be gained by neglecting our differences. "The triumph of the union principle will involve immense patience, forbearance, and sympathy toward those whose religion is bound up with denominational tradition or who are generations behind the front line of Christian thought. The advanced and informed minds, the true *ecclesia docens*, must recognize the rights of the slower pupils the *ecclesia discens*, together with whom they form the *ecclesia catholica*." The book shows patient study, balanced judgment, religious earnestness. No writer or speaker on church unity can in the future omit this book from his reading and be "down to date."—W. D. Schermerhorn

American Religion As I See It Lived. By BURRIS JENKINS, New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1930. Pp. 282. \$2.00.

The distinguished pastor of Linwood Boulevard Community Church of Kansas City presents in this volume his summary of the characteristics of American religious life. He says: "I am setting out in this book to serve as a reporter, telling only what I have seen and heard, with what appear to me the inevitable deductions to be drawn from such rather autobiographical material. I can say of virtually all of the people I have known that they seem

to be religious." His fundamental thesis, which underlies the whole book, is that there is developing an American philosophy of life composed of two principal elements: "first, a restoration of the ancient Greek love and worship of beauty and well-being, and second, the application of the ethics of Jesus, his idealisms, his aspirations, his harmony of things seen and unseen."

Out of his rich and colorful experience as newsboy, university student, college president, pastor, editor, author and world traveler, the author recites in a delightfully informal style a number of incidents of human touch and color which in his judgment illustrate the nature of American religion as it is now being lived. With deft artistry he has woven a pattern composed of the hopes and fears, the perplexities and aspirations of both age and youth, together with examples of courage and conviction in rough and unconventional settings, while in the woe of it all the author has sought to trace the delineations of religion.

The degree of his success, however, is open to some question. For while one reads the book with a high degree of eagerness (the reviewer did not lay it aside until he had finished it) yet one turns from it with a suggestion of disappointment. The book lacks something—perhaps it is "iron." While it is frankly autobiographical and descriptive, not hortatory or didactic, yet the reviewer turned aside from it disappointed in receiving so few fresh and helpful insights into the characteristics of present-day American religion and so little added appreciation of the function of religion in the personal and social life of the nation. While delightfully done, it does not represent Dr. Jenkins at his best.—A. LeRoy Huff

Theory and Practice of Group Work. By JOSEPH C. McCASKILL. New York: Association Press, 1930. Pp. 165.

The Y. M. C. A., not unlike similar social institutions, tends to follow definite routine molds, which are not easy to change, in matters of program building, administration and dealing with their membership. Consequently, when a distinct innovation arises, such as introducing a group approach in work with boys in place of the traditional departmental scheme of organization, it should arouse special interest.

The author of this book describes his experience in organizing boys on a group basis and discusses the fundamental principles underlying it in a critical and detailed manner. The significance of the influence of the small play group on the members is carefully considered, as well as the techniques of program building and group leadership. Unfortunately, too much of the chapter on "The Group Program" is given over to discussing techniques for discovering the needs of the individual members of the group, without adequately showing the relationship of this data to the group program. The penetrating mind of the author is apparent

throughout the book and the reader is pleasantly surprised at the weighing, pro and con, of various viewpoints, as contrasted with the attempt to sell an idea.

At times the reader may wish for a more concrete description of the experiment, step by step, rather than isolated cases of illustrative material. Or, the bibliography may seem decidedly limited in its suggestions. On the whole, however, the book is well worth careful reading by church school workers, Boy Scout executives, boys' club directors, as well as Y. M. C. A. executives. Each and every one of them will find food for thought and clues for action if they are daring enough to pioneer.—W. Ryland Boorman

Christianity in Action. By JOHN TIMOTHY STONE. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1930. Pp. 222. \$1.50.

As the name indicates, this is a book of applied Christianity. It is most helpfully adapted to the everyday and most commonplace relations in life. It contains eighty-six subjects which have come under the observation of the author during his life and ministry. It not only is filled with practical suggestions bearing on the ordinary incidents of life, but it is most suggestive of the way to capitalize the common experiences of life in the development of the power to observe and apply Christian principles to life. Dr. Stone has the remarkable gift of understanding and entering into the life of the people. This, in a large measure, reveals the secret of his ministerial success.—P. B. Fitzwater

The Authority of the Bible. By C. H. DODD. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929. Pp. 310. \$3.00.

Rejecting both the infallible, enforced type of authority and a subjectivism based on personal opinion, the author holds that God is the "source or ground of truth" and the truth which comes from him is authoritative. He furnishes a secondary source of authority in the judgment and insight of those best qualified to interpret religious truth. The greatest of the writers of the Bible he holds to be men of such religious genius. But, though their visions of truth come from God, "inspiration does not carry inerrancy, nor is it inerrancy that gives authority. It is the capacity to explore independently the regions of the spirit and to convince others of the reality of that which one has discovered. Their words, without being infallible, carry creative power" (p. 129).

Yet, the writer is seeking a nucleus of eternal, divine truth in the Bible. This he finds in the heart of Jesus' teaching. A thoroughgoing Christo-centric point of view is maintained. "When moral and religious advance is made, it is not true to say that it antiquates the teaching of Jesus; on the contrary, it presents itself as a fresh unfolding of what Jesus meant. . . . It is He who gave to the whole (historic) process its absolute meaning, and it is He who

shapes and controls its remoter issues down to our own day" (282, 284f).

Regarding the relation of the Scriptures to this process, God "touches us supremely in the literature of the Bible, because of the intrinsic sublimity of its writings and because the experience they transmit is so organically related to history and to the divine Incarnation in Christ, in which we recognize the supreme act of God in history" (p. 296).

Dr. Dodd's work, while very readable, stimulating and based on extensive knowledge in biblical and theological fields, fails to satisfy the thoroughgoing historical student. It is a compromise. While holding too much of the old terminology and some antiquated concepts, it seeks to fill them with new meaning in keeping with modern thought. Religious development is interpreted largely in terms of content of theology and ethical concepts, without noting adequately their vital relationship to the life processes from which they grew. To the re-

viewer the volume seems more significant as a study of important ethical and theological developments reflected in the Bible than as a treatise on the authority of the Bible.—*William V. Roosa*

Educational Achievement in Relation to Intelligence. By C. W. St. JOHN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. 219.

This is an interesting statistical study of the relation between certain intelligence tests and several criteria of educational achievement. The data are taken from the records of the Harvard Growth Study, 1922-6, on 500 boys and 455 girls in a suburb of Boston. The various concepts of intelligence and the values of tests are discussed, with the conclusion that intelligence tests give useful indices of present abilities and suggest inferences about native abilities but that they cannot be depended upon for more than the specific reactions that they test. Intelligence tests do not measure integration and achievement tests do not reveal interests, tastes, attitudes, ideals, purposes or other predispositions which are among the most valuable educational products. The author reviews and criticizes the research in the field, outlines his own methods and states his findings. He gives good correlation tables and sample case studies and draws some inferences for educational method. He finds a correlation between abilities and achievement (.55 between composite I. Q. and achievement test scores for both boys and girls and .45 between I. Q. and teachers' marks) but finds that educational achievement seems to be much less constant than is the I. Q. One interesting inference that is drawn is that women teachers fail to understand the interests, habits, outlook and general modes of behavior of boys. The project method and a differentiated curriculum are recommended to meet the needs of individual differences. A bibliography of 255 related studies is given.—*E. J. Chave*



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The Modern Parent. By GARRY CLEVELAND MYERS. New York: Greenberg, 1930. Pp. 350. \$3.50.

This book is a practical guide to everyday problems. It is non-technical in language and specific in illustration. The average mother will see mirrored in the pages of the book many of her own experiences and difficulties with herself and her children.

The main purpose of the book is to reduce conflict between parents and children. The technique of presentation is to point out common problems, indicate general principles that might be applied and to point the way in which the "everyday" parent may both know and grow with his child.

Although popular in nature, the book is essentially sound in principle. It ought to be a very valuable guide to parent-teacher groups or to busy parents who want to get the drift of thinking in parent education.—*Hazel Myers Jacobs*

Books Received

Boorman, W. Ryland, *Personality in Its Teens*. Macmillan.

Bratt, K. A., *That Next War?* Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Brewer, Clifton H., *Nurturing Young Churchmen*. Morehouse Publishing Co.

Clemen, Carl, *Religions of the World*. Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Conde, Bertha, *Spiritual Adventures in Social Relations*. Cokesbury Press.

Cranford, Clarence W., *Seekers of Light*. Judson Press.

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Enelow, H. G., *A Jewish View of Jesus*. Bloch Publishing Co.

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Garvie, Alfred E., *The Christian Ideal for Human Society*. R. R. Smith.

Getman, Arthur Kendall, *The Church School in Action*. Abingdon Press.

Gore, Charles, *The Philosophy of the Good Life*. Scribner's.

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Hoyle, R. Birch, *The Teaching of Karl Barth*. Scribner's.

Jacks, L. P., *Constructive Citizenship*. R. R. Smith.

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Macartney, Clarence Edward, *Lincoln and His Cabinet*. Scribner's.

MacCullouch, J. A., *The Harrowing of Hell*. T. & T. Clark.

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Philipson, David, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*. Macmillan.

Pratt, James Bissett, *Adventures in Philosophy and Religion*. Macmillan.

Pratt, Waldo Seldon, *The Problem of Music in the Church*. Northwestern University.

Reese, Curtis W., *Humanist Religion*. Macmillan.

Rittelmeier, Friedrich, *The Lord's Prayer*. Macmillan.

Rojas, Ricardo, *The Invisible Christ*. Abingdon Press.

Ryden, Ernest Edwin, *The Story of Our Hymns*. Augustana Book Concern.

Simpson, P. Carnegie, *Essentials*. R. R. Smith.

Skinner, Clarence R., *A Free Pulpit in Action*. Macmillan.

Sockman, Ralph W., *Morals of Tomorrow*. Harper & Brothers.

Stallard, Mrs. Arthur, *Small Plays of St. Cuthbert*. Macmillan.

Tigher, Adriano, *Work*. Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Walter, Herman, *Moses Mendelssohn*. Bloch Publishing Co.

Weatherhead, Leslie D., *Jesus and Ourselves*. Abingdon Press.

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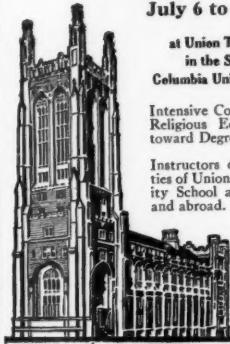
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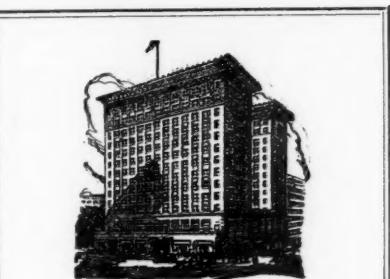
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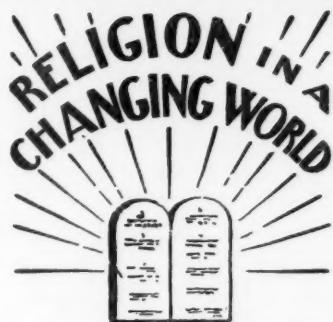
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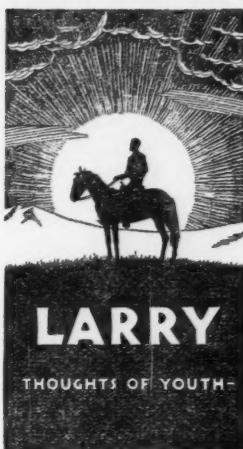
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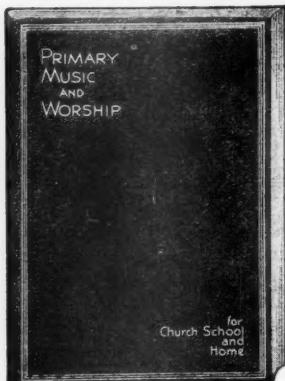
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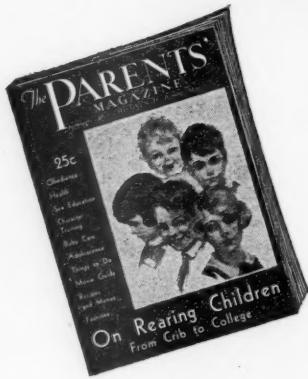
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